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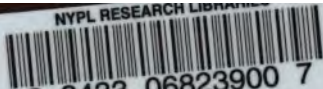
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51



Essay on Spirit -
A Defence of it
~~By the Author~~
By Bishop
Clayton.

Contents.

1. Essay on Spirit 1751
2. A Defence of Ditto. 1753
3. ^{Genuine} A Sequel to the Essay on Spirit. &
~~By~~ Clayton. 1752.

see Jones, of Rayland, on the True
full answer to this book -

From Dr Parr's Library, with his name
at the names also of two other earlier or con-
temporaries "J. Steel" & "J. Valentine"

The volume contains besides the original
Tract two subsequent treatises in defence of the
it is probably the same book named on p. 344 of
the Catalogue.

Parr, though himself of Unitarian dis-
position seems to have thought Clayton's opinion in re-
spect to his retaining his ~~position~~ ^{office} in the Establishment
a p. 597 of the same Catalogue. ~~Tract~~
named a Tract with the Title "A Plain Propo-
sition 'Why does not Clayton, Bishop of Ely, resign
his See?' 1753". The Tract is described as contain-
ing a note of Parr in these words "This Book [The
Tract] was much disliked since much scandalized."
"Who is able to refute it?" Act I. Or: does the
Tract defend the Retention by Unitarians of Church la-

Abbott speaks of this Green Treatise as
"adopted & published by" Bp. Clayton, & as having
been from twenty or thirty writers; & that the Pres-
biterians had determined to proceed against the Book
he was seized with a nervous fever, which terminated
his life, February 26, 1758. That for how long he was
been made Bp of Exeter. B. 1695. D. 1758

He wrote also on Biblical Chronology, a Propo-
sition, & a reply to Bolognini (in 3 parts 1753
&c &c

In the Preface to his work in response, Jones of
Lefebvre to the second Treatise in the present volume
"Defence of the Holy Spirit" 1753. Neither the
Tract nor his Defender, supposing them two Defen-
ders, was complained to meet Jones of Mayhew.

(J. Valentini)

AN
Essay on Spirit,

WHEREIN
The Doctrine of the TRINITY

IS CONSIDERED
In the Light of NATURE and REASON;
AS WELL AS
In the Light in which it was held by the
ancient *Hebrews* :

Compared also with the Doctrine of the
Old and New Testament.

WITH
An INQUIRY into the Sentiments of the Primitive
Fathers of the Church :

AND
The Doctrine of the TRINITY as maintained by the
Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Platonists.

TOGETHER WITH
Some REMARKS on
The ATHANASIAN and NICENE CREEDS.

*Inanimatum est omne, quod impulsu agitatur externo; quod
autem animal est, id motu ciatur interiore, et suo.*

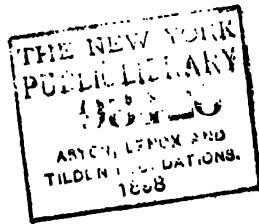
CIC. Som. Scip.

From the *Dublin* Copy, with
ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS by the AUTHOR.

LONDON, printed :
And sold by J. NOON in the *Poultry*, G. WOODFALL
at *Charing-Cross*, and M. COOPER in *Pater-noster-row*.

MDCCLI.

[Price Sew'd 2s. 6d.]



E R R A T A.

- Page 24. l. 22. *dele* to
30. l. 14. *for* of which *r.* in which
63. l. 13, 14. *for* followeth *r.* followed
89. l. 1. *dele* and
141. l. 9, 10. *for* so to be *r.* so as to be

NOV 23 1898
CLUB
READS

TO
HIS GRACE
GEORGE,
LORD PRIMATE
OF ALL
IRELAND:
(Dr George Stone.)

MY LORD,

AS I am a Clergyman of the
established Church, and have
for some Years been possessed
of an Ecclesiastical Preferment, in-
to which, before I could be admit-
ted,

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ted, I was obliged to subscribe the four first Canons, which include my Assent to the Articles of our Religion, and also to declare publicly my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing, contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer* : And, as I have not been so much employed about my temporal Affairs, but that I have found Leisure to apply some Time to my Books, and to *think* as well as *read* ; I find that I do not now agree exactly in Sentiment, either with my former Opinions, or with those Persons who drew up the Articles of our Religion, or with the Compilers of our Liturgy, and, in particular, with the *Athanasian Creed* : And therefore I have laboured under

DEDICATION. v

der some Difficulties, how to direct myself in these Circumstances.

There was a Sermon preached, not many Years ago, by Dr. *Conybear*, before the University of *Oxford*, which seems to have been approved of by them; and which hath since been reprinted in *Ireland*, wherein he asserts, that every one who subscribes the Articles of Religion, does thereby engage, not only not to dispute or contradict them; but that his Subscription amounts to an Approbation of, and an Assent to the Truth of the Doctrine therein contained, in the very Sense which the Compilers thereof are supposed to have understood them: That they are not to be

considered as Articles of Peace, but of Doctrine, as the very Title denotes, which is, *For the avoiding Diversities of Opinions, and for establishing Consent touching true Religion.* Whereas I apprehend any Attempt towards avoiding Diversity of Opinions, not only to be an useless, but also an impracticable Scheme; since I do not only doubt whether the Compilers of the Articles, but even whether any two *thinking Men* ever agreed exactly in their Opinion, not only with regard to All the Articles, but even with Regard to any One of them; so that if they were to give their own Interpretation of them, there would be found as many different Sentiments as there were Interpreters: The Difference indeed
would

DEDICATION. vii

would not always be great; but
still there would be a Difference.

I said *thinking Men*, for, as to
the unthinking Herd, whatever was
the Creed of their Father, or Tu-
tor, that will be theirs, from their
Infancy, to their Lives End; and
accordingly, whatever Country you
go into, let the Religion be what
it will, the unthinking Part there-
of are always the reputed Ortho-
dox.

An *Uniformity of Profession* may
indeed be both practicable and use-
ful; and seems in some degree to
be necessary, not only for the Pre-
servation of Peace, but also for the
general Good and Welfare of So-
ciety:

viii D E D I C A T I O N.

ciety: Since I do not conceive how any Society or Commonwealth can subsist, unless some Form of Religion or other be established therein; as well with regard to Points of Doctrine as Discipline; which however ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental, as possible. And as no established Form of Religion can subsist, unless that Form be publicly made known, and the Teachers thereof are laid under some Obligation, either by Subscription or otherwise, of complying with that Form, and of not preaching, or publicly teaching, any Doctrine contrary thereto; so, I own, I do not see any Manner of Impropriety in the Legislative Power of any Society insisting upon such a kind of Subscription,

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Subscription, as is only required to be made for Peace-sake, and the Preservation of the outward Forms of Society: Since a Man under these Circumstances may, for prudential Reasons, honestly subscribe and submit *to the Use* of one established Form, though he, in his own private Opinion, may think another to be better; provided that he is not obliged to subscribe any thing sinful; or so diametrically opposite to Truth, as that he cannot possibly put any other Construction upon it.

The first Subscription, that I know of, was set on foot at the Council of *Nice*, when the famous Contest about the Trinity was determined

x DEDICATION.

terminated in Favour of the *consubstantial* Doctrine, by a Majority of near Twenty to One: To which the Emperor required all the Bishops then present to subscribe. But then he allowed every one to put their own Sense upon the Word *Consubstantial*, and not the Sense that was intended by the Compilers of the Creed: And accordingly, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, though he at first refused subscribing, yet when he was allowed to interpret the Word *Consubstantial*, as meaning only, *that the Son was not of the same Substance with the Creatures that were made by him*; he then subscribed it, and so, in a little Time after, did *Arius*.

Peace

DEDICATION. xi

Peace was what the Emperor wanted, and therefore he was content with Peace: But from the Time that Power was put into the Hands of the Church of *Rome*, implicit Faith and Obedience to her infallible Determinations being what she required; unless Subscriptions were then to be understood as made according to the Sense of the Compilers of the Articles, the Recusants were anathematized, and Fire and Faggot was the Word.

But as I apprehend that the Church of *Ireland* doth not set up for Infallibility, I do not think that she requireth any other Kind of Subscription than such as is necessary

xii DEDICATION.

fary for Peace and Quietness : And therefore I am now not much disturbed upon this Head. I likewise find by the Words of the Act of Parliament, which enjoins the Declaration of our “ Assent and Consent to all Things contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*,” that the Purport and Intent of the Act is, that this Declaration of Assent should be only *to the Use* of those Things which are contained in the said Book, which is very different from assenting to the Things themselves ; and therefore I am pretty easy also with regard to this.

How these Words, *to the Use of*, came to be omitted out of the express Form of Words that are ordered

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dered to be read in Church for a legal Qualification, I cannot say, nor whether they were omitted out of Neglect, or by Design; but I own it seems to me, when I consider the Humour of the Times when that Act was made, that it was done with Design; as a Snare, to oblige poor [1] conscientious Men, who did not read the Act of Parliament at length, to give up their Livings, rather than declare their “unfeigned Assent and Consent to all
“and every thing contained in *The*
“*Book of Common-Prayer.*” For it is to be observed, that this Condition was not required by the *Act of*

[1] And accordingly, there were 1800 Persons that were actually deprived of their Livings, rather than submit to the Terms prescribed.

Uniformity,

xiv DEDICATION.

Uniformity, as published in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was an Addition made thereto, after the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the Nation was, as it were, mad with the Joy of having recovered its ancient Constitution both in Church and State ; The little Oath therefore, wherein it was declared, *that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King*, was at the same time inserted into the *Act of Uniformity*. Which Part of that Act hath been since repealed ; and indeed I cannot but sincerely wish, that the other Addition, which was made at the same time, was so far rectified, that the Words of the Declaration should
be

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be made to correspond with the Design of the Act, which manifestly was, to require the Declaration of Assent and Consent only *to the Use of* all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*. Because I think that That solemn Declaration which a Clergyman is obliged to make in the Presence of God and his Congregation, when he is going to take upon himself the Care of their Souls, ought to be simple, positive, plain; free from all Ambiguity or Doubtfulness; and should be expressed in such a Manner, as that it cannot be misunderstood, either by him, or by the Congregation; but that he may safely and honestly make it, according to that *plain and ordinary*

xvi DEDICATION.

Sense of the Words, in which they would *commonly be understood* by all Mankind, *without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatsoever*; that is, without any latent Reference to the Intention of the Act, which is not expressed in the very Words of the Declaration.

And indeed I am the more desirous of this, because I know for a Certainty, that some of the most learned and conscientious Persons among the Dissenters, have made the Form of our Declaration of “un-
“ feigned Assent and Consent to All
“ and Every thing contained in *The*
“ *Book of Common-Prayer*,” an Ob-
jection,

DEDICATION. xvii

tion if not the principal one, against coming into our Church.

As also because some of our own Brethren, who consider Subscriptions in the same Light with the bigotted Members of the Church of *Rome*, and probably never read, or never duly considered the *Act of Uniformity*, have taken Occasion, from that Form of Declaration of Assent, to brand those, who presume to doubt, or differ from them in any of their imaginary orthodox Notions, with the Imputation of Perjury, or, at least, of Hypocrisy.

But though we should suppose this was done, and that Subscrip-
b tions

xviii DEDICATION.

tions were declared to be only required for Peace-sake; yet there is still a Difficulty which remains behind, with regard to those who do not approve of all the Articles of the established Religion, or of every thing in the Liturgy; because it is natural for them to desire, that those Things, which they take to be Errors should be amended; and yet it is found by Experience, that whoever attempts to find fault with the Canons or the Articles of Religion, or the established Form of Liturgy, becomes immediately a Disturber of the Peace of the Church, as he is sure, at least, to be loaded with the opprobrious Name of *Schismatic*, or *Heretic*, which, ever since the Days of *Po-*
pery,

DEDICATION. xix

pery, are Sounds that occasion wondrous Horror in the Ears of the *Vulgar*.

Whoever considers the Difficulties which attend the Reformation of Religion in general, and, in particular, the Difficulties which attended these Nations in their Reformation from *Popery*, ought to thank God that so much was done at that Time as was done, rather than repine that more was not effected. The Humour of the Times would not suffer a more thorough Reformation; these Nations having been so long accustomed to a Kind of utter Darknes, that their Eyes would not bear too much Light to be let in at once.

xx DEDICATION.

Christianity was not established, nor the *Jewish* Religion thoroughly reformed, all on a sudden. After *St. Paul* had been many Years a Preacher of the Gospel, he complied with the *Jewish* Ceremony of [2] *shaving his Head in Cenchrea*, because he was under a Vow; and of [3] purifying himself at the Temple of *Jerusalem*, rather than give Offence to the *Jews*: And the whole Council of Apostles, when assembled at *Jerusalem*, assented to enjoin those [4] *Jewish* Profelytes, who, from among the *Gentiles*, were turned unto God, to continue for some

[2] Acts xviii. 1.

[3] Acts xxi. 24.

[4] Acts xv. 19. xx. 29.

time

DEDICATION. xxi

time under a prohibition from eating Things strangled, and from Blood, which hath been long since discontinued. And our Saviour himself was pleased to declare, that he concealed many Truths, till the Disciples should be *able to bear them*, John xvi. 12.

The present Constitution of these Kingdoms, both in Church and State, is, in my sincere Opinion, the best in the known World; but I will not say, that it is not capable of being still further amended. What then is to be done? For if the Church be not infallible any more than the State, why may not that be amended as well as the State? And why should we be

xxii DEDICATION.

more afraid of breaking the Peace of the Church than of the State? The Peace of the one being full as necessary to be preserved as the Peace of the other.

The *Christian* Religion was, at its first Propagation, called a [5] *Heresy*; and therefore [6] *St. Paul*, in his Apology to *Felix*, said, *This I confess, that after the Way which they call HERESY, so worship I the God of my Fathers.* Which Denomination was continued to it, so long as to the Time of *Constantine* the Great, who, in his Epistle to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, calls

[5] Acts xxviii. 22.

[6] Acts xxiv. 5, 14.

the

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the *Christian* Religion the [7] *Catholic Heresy*: Which Letter was written after the Emperor had declared in favour of *Christianity*.

Αἵρεσις, according to *Stephens*, signifies, in general, the same thing with the *Latin* Words *Seſta* and *Dogma*, that is, a *Seſt* or *Opinion*. And accordingly he reckons up ten *Sects* or *Heresies* of the ancient *Philosophers*. But among the *Ecclesiastical Writers*, says he, it signifies an *Opinion*, or *Seſt that is contrary to the orthodox Faith*. But as the established Religion of every Country is that which consti-

[7] Τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 5.*

xxiv DEDICATION.

tutes *Orthodoxy*, according to the common Sense of the Word ; hence it is, that they who differ and separate therefrom are generally called *Hereticks* ; and hence it comes to pass, that a Person may be esteemed as very orthodox in *England* or *Ireland*, who would be deemed as an Heretic at *Rome*, or in other Countries. And for the same Reason it was, that the *Christians* were at first called *Heretics* in *Judea*, because they separated from the *Jewish*, which was the established Religion of the Country ; and were also called *Heretics* in *Rome*, because they refused joining with the *Heathen*, which was the then established Religion there.

It

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It is therefore possible that an Heretic may be in the right; according to the original Sense of the Word. It is also possible that he may be in the wrong. And therefore St. *Peter* says, [8] *There are false Teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.* And St. *Paul* says, [9] *I hear there are Schisms among you; and I partly believe it: For* THERE MUST BE ALSO HERESIES, *that they which are approved may be made manifest.* Now there is no other Necessity for Heresies being among them but this: That God

[8] 2 Pet. ii. 1.

[9] 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

xxvi DEDICATION.

did not frame human Nature in such a Manner as to necessitate all Men to be of one Mind ; but having made Mankind to be free Agents, he *left them in the Hand of their own Council*, to chuse their own Opinions for themselves ; according to the Merit or Demerit of which Choice, they will be proper Subjects for Rewards or Punishments. And therefore, while this Constitution of human Nature remains, *there must be* Schisms, Divisions, Heresies, or a Diversity of Sects among them. And as all Mankind think themselves to be in the right, so they naturally conclude all those who differ from them to be in the wrong ; and hence it comes to pass, that the Word *Heretic*

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retic is generally used in a bad Sense; though because a Person is an Heretic, or is of a different Sect from the established Religion, it does by no means follow, that therefore he must be in the wrong. If the Persons from whom he differs should be infallible, as it is allowed the Apostles were, then indeed it would follow, of consequence, that the Heretic or Separatist must be in an Error. And if, after Instruction and Admonition, he will not amend, it is then fit he should be ejected, or excommunicated out of the Society of the Faithful, lest his Exemption from Punishment should give Encouragement to the Seduction of others; for though it cannot be supposed that his Excommunication

xxviii DEDICATION.

nication will amend himself, yet it may contribute to save other Persons.

And hence it is, that St. *Paul*, in his Advice to *Titus*, says, *A Man that is an Heretic, after the first and second Admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.* Which Admonition and Rejection shews the Crime of Heresy to consist in an Error of the Will, rather than of the Judgment; for otherwise *Titus* would have been directed to instruct such a Person, rather than to admonish him. But as it is to be supposed that Information and Instruction would be first tried by *Titus*, even
I before

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before the first Admonition, therefore it is the Perverseness of his Will, in still persisting in his Sect or Heresy after Admonition, that seems to be the Cause and Foundation of his Excommunication: For, says St. *Paul*, such a one is *subverted* from the Faith, and *sinneth*, by persevering therein after Admonition; and is *self-condemned*, as having no Excuse of Ignorance to plead after his being admonished thereof: He may indeed not be *self-condemned* with regard to his Error, because he may not be convinced that he is in an Error; but may think himself to be in the right, when he is in the wrong: Whereas, with regard to his Heresy,

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refy or Separation from the Church to which he belonged; he cannot be ignorant thereof, after Admonition, for differing from the Sense of the Church ; and therefore if he persists therein after being admonished, he must be *self-condemned*, with regard to his Perseverance in opposition to the Church.

And as every legislative Power is so far infallible, as it is the dernier Resort, and only Judge now left upon Earth, of what is right and wrong, within the Limits of its own Jurisdiction ; therefore when any Form of Religion hath been once established, they who separate therefrom, or act in direct Opposition to its Commands, are to be treated

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treated as if such legislative Power was infallible; and if they will not submit, upon Admonition, are to be rejected, to prevent others from being seduced, and to preserve the Peace of Society.

By which Rejection, or Excommunication, I do not mean an Exclusion from Civil Rights, and the Protection of the Civil Magistrate, but only from the outward and visible Communion of the Church, and its faithful Members, and all the particular Benefits which properly belong thereto, or may result therefrom; from which, as it is by their own Choice that they differ, in disobeying its Rules, or rejecting its Communion, it can be no Injustice

xxxii DEDICATION.

justice that they should be excluded, if they still persist in their Disobedience after Admonition.

Since therefore it appears, that a Man's being of a wrong Opinion is not that which properly denominates him an *Heretic*, but rather his being of a different Opinion from the Majority ; one would be apt to wonder why that Word, in general, should have so bad an Idea annexed to it ; but that the Answer thereto is obvious, *viz.* That it arises from our having too great a Fondness for ourselves, and our own Opinions ; and too great an Aversion to those who differ in Opinion from us.

There

DEDICATION. xxxiii

There is indeed no Reason to be assigned in general, why Men should be more displeased with one another for being of different Opinions, than for their being of different Sizes, or for having a different personal Appearance. And were it not that Experience convinces us of the Matter of Fact, it would be hard to believe that Men's Passions could carry them to that Degree of Animosity against each other, on account of Opinions barely speculative, which we find practised in all Countries, and almost all Ages.

I can very well conceive why
Men should contract an Aversion
c and

xxxiv DEDICATION.

and an Hatred for one another about Opinions where their temporal Interests are concerned ; and do not wonder, when I read, that [1] *Demetrius* the Silversmith raised a Tumult against *Paul* at *Ephesus*, for saying, that *they be no Gods which are made with Hands*, because by this bold Assertion, as *Demetrius* acknowledged, this *Craft* was in danger to be set at nought, and, ye know, *Sirs*, said he, *that by this Craft we have our Wealth*.

But it is not so easy to account why one Man should bear an ill Will to his Neighbour, or any of his Fellow-Creatures, for being of

[1] Acts xix. 24.

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a different Opinion from him in Matters barely speculative, in which the other is no way concerned, further than as he is a [2] Man, and a Lover of Mankind. In which Respect every Body ought to be so far concerned for his Fellow-Creature as to do all that lies in his Power to contribute to the Happiness of each other; but then this is to be done in a proper, kind, and friendly Manner: And, if that will not prevail, contrary Methods ought by no means to be attempted; since that Principle which directs us to use all Men well, can never vindicate us in using any Man ill.

[2] *Homo sum, humani nihil à me alienum puto.*

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If one Man is a *Christian*, and another is a *Jew*, *Turk*, or Infidel; of any Denomination, there can be no more Reason for having a Dislike upon that account to each other, than because they were not all born in the same Country, or bred up under the same Tutor, or do not all speak the same Language; since ninety-nine in an hundred of those who are *Christians*, would probably have been *Mahometans*, if they had been born in *Turkey*, and would have imbibed their Religion, as they do their native Tongue, along with their Mother's Milk: And the same may be said of *Jews* or *Mahometans*, that they would have been *Christians*,

DEDICATION. xxxvii

stians, if they had been born in a *Christian* Country, and of *Christian* Parents.

If it pleases the Almighty to endow one Man with a better Understanding, or greater natural Abilities of any kind, than his Neighbour, to appoint the Place of his Birth, where he has better Opportunities of being informed in true Religion, or to produce him from such Parents as will take care that he is better educated in the Paths of Virtue; these are Blessings for which he ought to be thankful to his Creator; but are far from being any Reason why he should bear an Ill-will to those Persons, who have not received the same Advantages

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- Advantages from Providence ; or why he should not live in a kind and neighbourly Manner with them, though he thinks them in an Error with regard to their religious Principles.

And yet Experience convinces us, that the Conduct of Mankind is quite otherwise ; which can be attributed to nothing but a vicious Pride in our Nature, which makes us not content with the Applause of our own Conscience, when we think ourselves in the Right, unless we have the Applause of others also : And renders us sollicitous to gain Followers and Admirers, at the same Time that it gives us an
Aversion

DEDICATION. xxxix

Aversion for every one that differs
in Opinion from us.

Athanasius, in answer to this Question. Πόθεν λέγεται Αἵρεσις; unde dicitur *Hæresis*? saith, Ἀπὸ τῆ αἰρεῖσθαι τι ἴδιον, καὶ τῷτο ἐξακολουθεῖν, *Ab eligendo & prosequendo sententiam suam privatam*. So that the conceiving of Error is not that which constitutes the Crime of Heresy, but the prosecuting and persevering in it, to the raising of a Party, and exciting *Followers*, whence also the Word *Seet* is derived; and for this Reason it is that St. *Paul* reckons up *Heresies* among such [3] Works of the Flesh, as *Hatred, Variance, Emu-*

[3] Gal. v. 20, 21.

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tions, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Envyings, Murders, and such like, as it is near of Kind to them, and may be the Foundation and Cause of them.

What then is it the Duty of any Person to do, who is the professed Member of any established Church, if he sees, or imagines he sees, any Errors, either in the Doctrine or Discipline of that Church? Must he, for fear of disturbing the Peace of the Church, and being deemed a Schismatic, or Heretic, sit down quietly, and not endeavour to set them to Rights? Or, must he fly off, and separate immediately from it?

As

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As to the First, if Men were not to declare their Opinions, in spight of Establishments either in Church or State, Truth would soon be banished the Earth. Error puts on so much a fairer Outside, ornaments itself with so many plausible Appearances, and comes loaded with so many Bribes to tempt us from our Duty; that, if Truth did not sometimes shew itself, and exert its Abilities in its own Defence, the World would be soon over-run with Error, as an uncultivated Garden with Weeds. Of which the Experience of Times past is sufficient to convince us, by the Growth and Continuance of Errors in the Church of *Rome*, from the Time that the Bible

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Bible was shut, and the Court of Inquisition opened.

And as to the Second, whoever he is who thinks he ought to separate from that Church wherein he sees some Errors, if it will not immediately reform and amend them; and thinks it his Duty to refuse joining in Communion with any Set of Men, till he meets with a Constitution, either in Church or State, that is absolutely free from Errors; such an one, I fear, is nor fitted for this World, but must live by himself, till he is conducted into a Society of Angels.

In my Opinion, therefore, the middle Course is that which he
ought

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ought to pursue, which in this Affair, as well as most others, is certainly the best,

Let us consider how a Person in like Circumstances, with regard to the State, ought to conduct himself; and this may perhaps determine our Behaviour with regard to the other. For we generally talk more calmly, as well as more rationally, concerning the Affairs of the State, than of the Church.

Suppose a Person sees any Errors in that Constitution of Government under which he lives; may he not, ought he not to lay his Opinion before the Legislative Powers of that Society, in order to procure
an

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an Amendment of it? I think he ought. But then he ought at the same time, unless in Cases of the utmost Necessity, where the Vitals of the Constitution are in Danger, not only not to desert the State, though the Amendment should not be made; but also to avoid raising *Parties* or *Factions* in the State, for the Support of his Opinion; which in the Ecclesiastical Style, would be called *Heresies*.

But to this it is objected, that here the Parallel will not hold, because Men's temporal Interests will restrain them from overturning the Establishment of the State; whereas too many would be very glad to have the Establishment of the Church quite

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quite set aside. It may therefore be dangerous to begin with making Alterations or Amendments in the Church, lest those Scaffoldings which are erected for Repairs, should be made use of to pull down the whole Fabric.

With humble Submission however to these cautious Gentlemen, I am under less Apprehension for the Church than for the State: For, as to the *Christian* Religion in general, we have the sure Word of Prophecy, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*. And as to particular Establishments, I should apprehend, that the freer they were from Errors, the more likely they would be to stand. At least, I
should

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Should think it would be right to run some Risque, and place some Trust in the Providence of God, rather than let Errors of any Consequence remain.

But, say they again, *Truth is not to be spoken at all Times.* Which I will allow so far, as to acknowledge, that Prudence and Temper is to be made use of even in the Publication of Truth; but not that Truth may be concealed for ever, under the Pretence, that the Publication of it at present would be out of Season; for if Error may be safely established, and Truth concealed, how can we vindicate all that Outcry that was made by *Protestants* against the Doctrine of
Transub-

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Transubstantiation, &c? Since it is manifest, that before the Reformation took place, the same Arguments were then made use of against any Innovations in Religion that are now. And all Alterations in the established Form of Worship were then as much declaimed against by the Ecclesiastics of those Days, as they can be at present.

I am not against joining the Wisdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove: But I would not have the Wisdom of the Serpent without the Innocence of the Dove. Let us be as wise as possible in defending what is right in our Establishment, but let us not exert the same Wisdom in defend-
ing

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ing what is wrong. But, above all, let us, in the Name of God, take care, that our Foundations be clear, and that our Articles and Creeds are free from Error.

The Author of these Papers, though he hath addressed them to Your GRACE, is very sensible, that it is not in Your Power, nor in that of all the Ecclesiastics of the Land, to alter the established Form of Worship; he knows, that the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which it depends, and of which our Liturgy is a Part, was passed into a Law, by the joint Consent of the three Estates of the Realm; and he trusts in God, that he never shall see the Church independent on the State.

But,

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But, my LORD, though the Bishops and Clergy, either in or out of Convocation, cannot redress, yet they may recommend; the Author, however, cannot but remark, that he does not recollect any Instance in History, since the Times of the Apostles, where the Reformation of Religion in any material Points hath been brought about by the Influence of the Clergy in general; the Bulk of them, who are always the least knowing, being most tenacious of old Opinions. The Pope, indeed, every now and then, makes some Reformation of the Calendar of Saints, and strikes out a few antiquated Holy-days, in order to make Room for new Canonizations:

1 DEDICATION.

tions: But if we are to take our Precedents from what hath hitherto passed in the Reformation of any material Points in Religion, it must be effected by a few leading Persons among the Clergy, when supported by the upper and more thinking Part of the Laity.

And, as it hath pleased God and His Majesty to call you to the Primacy of this Church, the Author cannot think of any Person more proper to address himself to at present, than Your GRACE; as well on account of Your personal Abilities, as of Your Interest with those leading Members of the Society, whether Laymen or Clergy, who compose the Legislative Power of this Realm.

And

DEDICATION. II

And as he thinks this to be the most proper and *Christian* Method of conveying his own Sentiments to the Powers that be; so hath he also published his Sentiments in the Garb of a metaphysical Essay, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the lower Class of Readers, whose Thoughts might be disturb'd by an Enquiry into Subjects of this Nature; till by gentle Degrees they come, by the Blessing of God, to be made a Part of the established Religion of the Country; which will give them a proper Recommendation and Weight with those, who are not otherwise capable of judging of them.

Not that he expects, that every
Thing, which he hath advanced
d 2 in

lii DEDICATION.

in this *Essay*, is to be received by his Reader as an Article of Faith, but only that it may have its due Weight in his serious Considerations; for as he is desirous, that no human Conjectures may be imposed upon him, as of equal Authority with Divine Revelation; so neither does he desire, that his Conjectures should be obtruded upon others.

The Author is thoroughly convinced, that Ministers of State will be very cautious, and with great Reason, how they embroil themselves with religious Disputes. But as he does not apprehend, that there is any Need of pursuing violent Methods, so neither does he expect that a thorough Reformation of
I every

DEDICATION. liii

every thing that may be amended, should be made all at once. He could wish, however, that something was done, to convince the World, that the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*, are not averse to a proper Reformation of such Parts of her Public Service, as demand a more immediate Revival; since, otherwise, they may give Offence by their Obstinacy, and seeming Infalibility; and if a Storm should arise, may run a Risque of having that Tree torn up by the Roots, which might have been saved by a little pruning.

As the Laws of the Land require Subscriptions to be made to the Canons and Articles of our Religion, only by Clergymen, Fellows

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of Colleges, Clerks, and School-Masters, so these do not seem to need that immediate Redress, which those Parts of our Worship require, in which the whole Community are expected to join.

He thinks, that he need not inform Your GRACE, That that Creed, which is commonly called the *Athanasian* Creed, hath of a long Time given Offence, and continueth to give great Offence to many People. And indeed not without Reason, if we consider it only in this Light, that the Subject of a great Part of it, is a Theologico-Metaphysical Dispute, which few, if any, of the Learned understand; but is undoubtedly above the Capacity of the Vulgar; and
yet,

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yet, by being made a Part of our Public Service, every Body, as well low as high, is required to assent to it.

It is also now universally acknowledged among the Learned, that it was originally a spurious Production, imposed upon the World under the Name of *Athanasius*, till detected by the Criticisms of the learned *Vossius*. But, supposing it had been a genuine Piece, and had been undoubtedly written by *Athanasius*, there can be no Reason assigned, why the Members of the Church of *Ireland* should be tied down to assent to the Compositions of a private Person, who had no other Merit, which the Author can find, for being declared a Saint, but his base and low Sub-

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mission to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had no legal Authority over him ; and his insolent Behaviour to his lawful Prince, who undoubtedly had a Right to his Obedience.

The Author does, by no means, presume to prescribe to Your GRACE ; but he thinks himself in duty obliged to recommend it to Your Consideration, whether the first Step to be taken is not to try to get the Words in the Declaration of Assent and Consent made agreeable to the Intention of the Act, which was attempted in *England*, A. D. 1663, about a Year after the last *Act of Uniformity*, and passed the House of Lords, but was thrown out in the House of Commons, by the then over-ruling Influence of the Duke

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Duke of *York*, and his Party, who did not let the Clause proposed pass even the House of Lords without a Protest. But, as we are now, thank God, free from any Apprehensions of the prevailing Influence of such an Administration, he hopes YOUR GRACE will not decline making the Attempt here, as he apprehends it will open a Freedom of Conversation among those Persons, who have hitherto imagined themselves to be Tongue-tied, by having publicly and absolutely given their unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in the *Book of Common-Prayer*.

Which will be a proper, if not necessary, Preparative to a gradual Reception of those further Emendations

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dations of our Liturgy, which are proposed by some anonymous Authors, in the second Edition of a Book, lately published, entitled, *Free and candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England*. With whom, though the Author of these Papers does not agree in Opinion, concerning the Doctrine contained in the *Arbanasian* Creed, and a few other Particulars: Yet he cannot avoid giving them their due Commendations, for the true *Christian* Spirit of Candour, Moderation, and Meekness, which breathes through their whole Performance.

It is indeed prohibited by the *Act of Uniformity*, under severe Penalties, for any Person to *preach, declare, or speak any thing to the*
Dero-

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Derogation or depraving the Book of Common-Prayer, or any Part thereof; which, however, is by no means inconsistent with that Christian Liberty of a decent and free Use either of Conversation, or of the Press, concerning any Alterations or Amendments, which it may be right and prudent to have made therein. As he apprehends, that every Person is liable to be punished by the Laws of the Land, who shall preach, declare, or speak to the Derogation or depraving any Act of Parliament, while it continues in Force: And yet common Reason, as well as common Custom, allows every Person to propose Alterations, and speak his Mind with regard to any Amendments, which
may

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may be made therein, provided it be done with common Decency, and a due Respect to the Legislative Powers of the Realm.

And when this is complied with, he then looks upon it as the Duty of such as see any Errors in the Constitution, either of Church or State, to lay their Sentiments before *the Powers that be*, in order to produce an Amendment; which is the Motive that prevails with the Author of these Papers, to give YOUR GRACE the Trouble of this Address; and to recommend to those in Authority the Consideration of the Advice given by the learned and religious Dr. *Hammond*, in his Treatise, entitled, [4] *A View*

[4] See Sect. 40.

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of the new Directory. Where, speaking in favour of the Moderation used in our Church-Catechism, he saith, “ If we would all keep ourselves within that Moderation, and propose no larger Catalogue of *Credenda* to be believed by all than the *Apostles Creed*, as it is explained in our *Catechism*, doth propose; and lay the greater Weight upon the Consideration and Performance of the Vow of Baptism, and all the Commands of God, as they are explained by *Christ*; — I should be confident there would be less hating and *damning* one another, (which is most ordinarily for Opinions) more *Piety* and *Charity*, and so true *Christianity* among
“ *Christians*

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“ *Christians* and *Protestants*, than
“ hath hitherto been met with.”
Which would be the most proper
Method that could be taken, to render
the Church of *Ireland* truly
catholic ; not by driving Members
out of its *Pale*, on account of human
Appointments and Determinations,
in imitation of the Church of
Rome ; but by opening the Gates of
its Communion as wide as was consistent
with the Gospel of *Christ*.

The Preface to our *Book of Common-Prayer* declares, that “ the particular Forms of divine Worship, and
“ the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being Things
“ in their own Nature indifferent
“ and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that
“ upon weighty and important Consider-

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“ Considerations, according to the various
“ Exigencies of Times and Occasions,
“ such Changes and Alterations may
“ be made therein, as to those that are
“ in Place and Authority should,
“ from Time to Time seem either ne-
“ cessary or expedient.”

The Eyes of Mankind have been greatly opened, not only since the Reformation, but even since the Revolution. And that Liberty of Conversation and the Press, which the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms have ever since been gloriously indulged in, hath much promoted a Freedom of thinking, which was curbed and kept down, during the Dominion and Influence of *Popery*.

And as at present the Generality of these Nations seem more inclinable to listen to Reason than formerly, the Author of these Papers hath that Confidence

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fidence both in the Soundness of Your GRACE's Judgment, and the Prudence of Your Conduct, that he makes no Doubt of Your doing every thing that is proper upon this Occasion, to remove those Rocks of Offence, which lie in the Way of so many well-meaning Persons.

This attempt of his, he thinks, however, for many Reasons, to be worth the making, because, though it should not succeed, yet he is sure of having that Satisfaction from it, that he can say, *Liberavi Animam meam*; SEE YE TO IT: And that it furnishes him with an Opportunity of professing himself to be

Your GRACE's

Most devoted, and

Most obedient

Humble Servant.

A N
E S S A Y
O N
S P I R I T.

I. **T**HE Opinion of [1] *Spinoza* was, that there is no other *Substance* in Nature but God: That Modes cannot subsist, or be conceived, without a Substance: That there is nothing in Nature but Modes and Substances: And that therefore every Thing must be conceived as subsisting in God.

Which Opinion, with some few Alterations, hath been embraced and culti-

[1] *Præter Deum nulla datur, nec concipi potest Substantia, (per Proposit. xiv.) hoc est (per Defin.) Res, quæ in se est, & per se concipitur. Modi autem (per Defin. v.) sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt: Quare hi in sola divina natura esse, & per ipsam solam concipi possunt.*

Spin. Oper. posth. Ethicæ par. I. pag. 12.

B

vated,

2 AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

vated, by *P. Malbranche* and Bishop *Berkeley*.

II. It may indeed be asserted, that there is in Nature but one Self-existent Being, Subsistence, or Substance, which, by way of Eminence, may therefore be called *the Substance*; or, figuratively and comparatively speaking, *the only Being, Subsistence, or Substance* in Nature. For by these three Words, I would be understood to mean one and the same Thing. The Logicians define *Substantia* to be *Ens per se subsistens & subsistans accidentibus*. And I mean the same Thing by a *Being, Existence, Subsistence, or Substance*; that is, something capable of supporting *Modes, Accidents, Relations, or Properties*, which are only different Words, to denote the various *Manners* or *Modes*, by which Existent Beings can raise Ideas in our Minds, or, which is the same Thing, can become knowable by us. Every Existence or Being, I therefore call a *Substance*; the Manner in which it makes an Impression on our Minds, I call a *Mode*; and the Effect or Impression, which is thereby made upon the Mind, I call an *Idea*.

Now

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NOW as NOTHING *can have no Properties*, wherever we perceive any Properties, we therefore reasonably conclude, that there must be SOMETHING ; that is, some Existence or other to support them. Hence the Maxim laid down by *Spinoza*, *Modi sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt* : Or, as Sir *Isaac Newton* expresseth it [2], *Virtus sine Substantia subsistere non potest*.

And as God is the only Self-existent Being, therefore he may, comparatively speaking, be said to be the only Being in Nature. And accordingly, when *Moses* enquired of God, by what Name he should make him known to the Children of *Israel*, God said, [3] *Thus shalt thou say to the Children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you*. That is, I *that* AM hath sent me unto you ; for so it should have been rendered. And therefore, in the first Part of the Verse, where God saith unto *Moses*, *I am that I am* ; it should be rendered, I AM *that* AM, as it is by the *Septuagint*, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, that is, *I am be that is*, or that exists, as if, comparatively speaking, there was no other Being or Existence but God.

[2] *Newt. Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 483. [3] *Exod. iii.* 14.

4 AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

From which Passage it probably was, that [4] *Plato* borrowed his Notion of the Name of God, when he asserted, that the Word *ἐστὶ*, *est*, is solely applicable to the eternal Nature of God. And from him it also probably was, that the Word *ἔ*, *i. e. thou art*, was all that was written on the Door of the *Delphic* Temple: Upon which *Plutarch* remarks, that this Word is solely applicable to God, since that which truly *is* must be sempiternal.

All which is true, when we speak of God in a figurative and less correct Manner, only in Comparison with the Creatures that have been made by him; between whom and their Creator there is no Proportion; and which, when considered in Comparison with him, are as *Nothing*. Which is the View that God is to be considered in, as spoken of in the above-mentioned Passages, quoted out of the Books of *Moses*, and the Theological Works of *Plato*.

[4] *Plato*, *Timæus*:

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT. §

III. But when we speak of God and his Works, in a philosophical and more accurate Manner, this will not hold. Since, as *Des Cartes* truly argues, *I know that I exist*. I cannot be deceived in this. If therefore I exist, and that I am not God, then there is another Existence in Nature beside God. I hope I cannot be thought so absurd, or so impious, as to imagine, that there are more Gods than *one*; or that I did not receive my Existence from the Will and Power of God: The Consciousness of my own Existence necessarily leads me to a first Cause, which first Cause can only be *one*; because two first Causes are a Contradiction in Terms. Every Thing therefore that exists, beside that *First Cause*, which Way soever it is brought forth into Being, whether it be *begotten, emanated, created, or spoken forth*, it must proceed from, and owe its Existence to the [5] Will, as well as Power of that first Cause. However, sure I am, that since I

[5] *Athanasius* acknowledges it to be impious, to say that God the Father was necessitated to act, even when he begat the Son: And allows also that neither the Son nor Holy Spirit are the first Cause; but the Father alone, and that the Son and Holy Spirit were both caused. *Athanasius*. Vol. I. p. 512. *Id.* Vol. II. p. 442, 443.

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do exist, I exist as a separate and distinct Existence from God ; though not independent of him.

IV. And as my own Consciousness convinces me of my own Existence, so does the same Faculty convince me, that this Existence of mine is composed of two very different Kinds of Existence, that is, of a thinking, active, powerful, Existence ; and a dull, heavy, inactive, Existence. One of which, to wit, the active, we will, for Distinction sake, without entering into any further metaphysical Disputes about Words, call the spiritual Existence, Subsistence, or Substance ; and the other, *viz.* the inactive, we will call the material or bodily Existence ; and sometimes, for Brevity sake, we will call one *Spirit*, and the other *Matter* or *Body*.

V. Wherein the Nature or Essence, either of this material or this spiritual Substance does consist, we are entirely ignorant ; for we know them only by the Effects or the Influence, which some of their Modes or Properties have upon our Minds. Thus, for Example, though we are capable of perceiving the Hardness, Colour, Figure, &c.

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT. 7

of material Existences; yet are we entirely ignorant, what it is that supports those Properties; or wherein the Nature, Essence, or Identity of *Body* does consist, when the Hardness, Figure, Colour, &c. is either altered or removed. In like Manner, we are equally ignorant of the Nature or Essence of Spirit: We know indeed some of the Properties thereof, such as, Perception, Thinking, Willing, Doubting, &c. But we know not the Essence of that spiritual Being within us, which perceives, thinks, wills, or doubts, &c.

VI. And though we know not wherein the Nature or Essence, either of *Body* or Spirit does consist; yet we find by Experience, that is, from the Effects which we feel from within, and from without ourselves, that these two Kinds of Existences, of which the human Constitution is composed, have very different and inconsistent Properties: As for Example, that one has the Power of Motion in itself; whereas the other can neither put itself into Motion, nor put a Stop to its own Motions, when once begun; whence we reasonably conclude, that their Natures or Essence are also different.

3 AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

VII. We likewise find, from Experience, that there is a Difference between necessary and voluntary Motion; and that some Agents have a Power of beginning, varying, and putting a Stop to their own Motions *ad libitum*; while others invariably act after one regular, constant, and uniform Method of proceeding, equally, and at all Times. And although it is not easy to determine the Boundaries between those two Species of Beings, the Gradation from the one to the other, in some Instances, being so exceedingly exquisite, as for Example, between the vegetable and the animal Part of the Creation, as to render the Distinction hardly perceptible; yet sure we are of the Matter of Fact, *viz.* that there are some Beings, which are capable of voluntary Self-Motion, whereas we find, by Experience, that others are not: And since we find, by repeated Experiments, that that Kind of Existence, which we call *Matter*, is incapable of producing any Kind of Motion, either voluntary or involuntary; whenever we see any thing moved, we may fairly conclude the first Author, or Cause of that Motion, to be what we call *Spirit*.

VIII. It

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT. 9

VIII. It is beyond the Reach of human Abilities to explain, how these two different Kinds of Existence, the active and inactive, can have an Influence, or can possibly affect each other. When we see a Stone descend to the Ground, we are not much surprized, because it is common ; but certain it is, that the original Cause of that Motion must be some Spirit or other ; not only with regard to the Determination of that Motion, but also with regard to the whole *Momentum* of it : Since, as *Nothing can act where it is not*, that Power whereby any Body continues in Motion, is as much the Effect of some concomitant Spirit, as the Power which put it first in Motion.

IX. That Power also, whereby Matter is enabled to *resist* Motion, is as much the Effect of Spirit, as that whereby it is enabled to continue in Motion, when once communicated : Since Matter, as Matter, cannot possibly exert any active Power of any Kind, either in beginning, continuing, or resisting of Motion. It may remain at Rest, by virtue of its own Inactivity ; but if no active Power withheld it, a Mountain would be

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as easily moved as a Mole-Hill. Because that Resistance, Weight, or Gravity is occasioned by nothing else but the Tendency of one Body towards another, impelled thereto by the attractive Force of some Spirit. Which Tendency, or attractive Power, being in proportion to the [6] Quantity of Matter, makes the Difference of Weight or Gravity in Bodies. When therefore this Tendency is removed, there will be no Difference in their Gravity; because none of them, whether large or little, will have any at all: And of consequence; their Power of Resistance will be destroyed. Which plainly proves, that Resistance is something more than bare Inability, or a Want of Power, or a Negation of Spirit, as the Author of [7] *Siris* asserts it only to be.

X. And as there can be no Motion, without a Direction or Determination being

[6] *Hactenus phænomena Cælorum & Maris nostri per vim Gravitatis exposui; sed causam Gravitatis nondum assignavi. Oritur utique hæc Vis a Causa aliqua, quæ penetrat ad usque Centra Solis & Planetarum sine Virtutis diminutione; quæque agit, non pro quantitate Superficierum Particularum in quas agit, (ut solent causæ mechanicæ) sed pro quantitate Materiæ solidæ.*

Newt. Princ. Schol. gen. p. 482.

[7] *Siris*, Sect. 290.

given

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT. II

given to that Motion; hence it will follow, that every Being, capable of moving, either itself, or any thing else, must also be endowed with an *Intellect*, or Understanding, capable of directing that Motion. And as nothing can act where it is not, hence also it is that Attraction, or Gravity, does not operate in proportion to the Superficies of Bodies, but according to the Quantity of Matter; because every, even the least Particle of active, or attractive Matter, must be directed in its Motions by some Spirit, united to that Matter, which may have just such a Quantity of Intellect communicated to it by its Creator, as will enable it to perform those Functions, which are assigned it by its Creator, in order to carry on the general Oeconomy of this Universe.

Which Functions, all active Beings that are not endowed with a Freedom of Will, must constantly and regularly perform, whenever there is an Opportunity given them of exerting those Faculties. And therefore, if they are appointed to perform the Operations of *Attraction* and *Repulsion*, they must, as necessary Agents, always *attract* or *repel* at certain Distances, and according to certain

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certain and stated Rules, prescribed by their great Creator; and will never vary in their Tendency towards this Body, or their Aversion from that; but will for ever act in one uniform Way of attracting or repelling the same Bodies, and in one regular, constant, Method of proceeding. From the Observation of which Operations, those Rules, which are called the Laws of Motion, are deduced by the Curious.

XI. All Nature, therefore, seems to be animated, or alive; and this whole World to be replete with *Spirits* formed with different Kinds and Degrees of Abilities, according to the various Ends and Uses, for which they were designed by their Creator. The Difference of whose intellectual Faculties may not only consist in the Difference of their original Formation as Spirits; but also in the different Inlets for Knowledge, through the Tegument of that Body to which they are united, and by which the Spirit within is capable of receiving any Kind of Information, for the Improvement of its own Understanding.

But

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But if the Almighty is pleased to add a *Liberty of Will* to this active Intellect, and create Spirits endowed with a Power of *voluntary Motion*, then it seems necessary that Almighty God should confer also upon such intelligent Spirits, such Faculties and Powers, as would enable them to be capable of perceiving Pleasure or Pain ; since nothing else, but a Sense of one or other of these, seems capable of determining the *Will* to act. For if the Sensation of Pleasure or Pain be removed from the Will, there can be no Reason or Cause for it to prefer one Motion to another, and of consequence, no Direction or Determination.

XII. And hence may be deduced the following Observations: That to such a Being every thing may be called *Good*, that giveth Pleasure ; and every thing *Evil*, that produceth Pain. The highest Pleasure, which any Being is capable of enjoying, may be called its *Happiness* ; and the highest Pain, *Misery*. Now as the Use of all Pain is to determine our Motions, so that when we feel or fear Pain, we may be thereby excited to new Actions, for our own Preservation

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servation and Delight; hence it appears, that *Evil* takes its *Origin* from the Goodness of God, in which it will also be finally absorbed, when Pain shall be no more. The Will cannot be at liberty to chuse Evil as Evil. But as Pain may be productive of Pleasure, or Pleasure be productive of Pain, hence it comes to pass, that free Agents, by being deceived, through their Ignorance, or Passions, may chuse Evil under the Appearance of Good; and herein consists human Freedom; not in the Power of chusing Evil, but in the Power of chusing what seems Good from among a Variety of *Good*, whether real or apparent: And herein lies the Difference between the Freedom of God and of Man; that as fallible Men may chuse an apparent Good, instead of a real one, they, by being liable to be deceived, are free, by that Means, to chuse Evil, instead of Good: Whereas God, who cannot be deceived, is only free to chuse out of that infinite Variety of real Good, which his Will and his Wisdom may dictate. — And lastly, That Virtue, Wisdom, Prudence, &c. in Mankind, may be considered only as various Names, for the several Powers given to them, and the different Methods

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Methods used by them in the Attainment of Happiness, and avoiding of Misery. And hence also Self-Love may be looked upon, in Nature, as the Principle of all voluntary Action; and the Foundation of all *Morality*.

XIII. We find, by Experience, that there are some voluntary self-moving Beings here upon Earth, which have but one or ~~two~~ Methods of furnishing their Minds with the Sense of Pleasure, or of Pain; others have three; others four; others five; which are commonly known by the Name of *Senses*; to which rational Beings have one more added, which is that of inward Reflection. And therefore, the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, speaking of the Formation of Mankind, says [8], *They received the Use of the five Operations of the Lord, and in the sixth Place he imparted to them Understanding.*

XIV. But, let their Number be never so various, they may, in general, be reduced to these two. First, those Methods of Information, which the Mind of any Being,

[8] *Eccles* xvii. 5.

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composed of Body and Spirit, is capable of being affected with, by the Intervention of the Senses; which furnish the Mind with such Ideas as may be called *Ideas of Sensation*, because they are conveyed to the Mind through the Organs of Sensation. Or, secondly, those Methods of Information, which the Spirit of any self-moving Agent is capable of being affected with, by its own reflex Acts upon itself; by the Means of which, the Mind is furnished with such Ideas, as may properly be called *Ideas of Reflexion*.

XV. And indeed it is in these reflex Acts of the human Spirit, that is, in the Power which the human Spirit is endowed with, first, in perceiving its own internal Operations in thinking; and, secondly, in being able to turn back its perceptive Faculty, to its past Perceptions, that the chief Difference seems to consist, between the Spirit of Man, and the Spirit of Brutes; or between the rational, and that which is commonly called the animal, Creation.

XVI. By the Assistance, however, of these two Faculties, that is, of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*,

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flexion, the Spirit of Man is furnished with all those Ideas, which fill the human Mind; and supply it with Objects of *intellectual*, as well as *sensual* Pleasures. The latter of which it is, that strikes us soonest and strongest, as being most necessary for the immediate Use, and Preservation of Life. And accordingly, we find, that the human Mind requires a kind of Ripening, before it is capable of making any reflex Acts upon its own Operations, or having any Relish for intellectual Pleasures. Upon which Account it must be acknowledged to have been one great Advantage, which *Adam* had over all his Posterity, that his intellectual Faculties came with him into the World in their full Force; by which Means, he was free from that Bias in favour of sensual Pleasures, which all his Offspring have, ever since, necessarily, laboured under; by an Habit of being indulged in sensual Gratifications, from their Infancy, till they come to a Maturity of Judgment; during which whole Time, the human Will hath no Relish for any Pleasures, but such as enter in by the Senses.

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XVII. The Spirit of Man, therefore, being furnished with Ideas by the Operation of the two Faculties of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*; when the Mind begins to operate a-new, its Operations are called by different Names, according to the different Use it makes of those Ideas. For when the Spirit retains any Ideas in View, and collates, or compares, them together, this Act of the Spirit is called *Thinking*. The Continuation of which Act is called *Attention*. When it deposite its Ideas in the Store-House, or Treasury, of the Mind, for future Recollection, and produces them back, upon Occasion, in the same Manner as they were deposited; this Act is called *Memory*: But when it varies, alters, and compounds them, so that they are not the same, as when deposited; this Act is called *Imagination*.

XVIII. When the Spirit, by collating and comparing Ideas together, finds out the Agreement, or Disagreement, of those Ideas; this Operation produceth *Knowledge*, and is, by the Logicians, called *Judgment*: But when the Spirit is mistaken in this Operation,

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tion, and imagines Ideas to have an Agreement, which have no Agreement, and, *vice versa*, this Operation produceth *Error*.

XIX. When this Agreement, or Disagreement, of Ideas, strikes the Mind at once, without the Intervention of any third Idea, to prove their Agreement, or Disagreement with one another; this is *intuitive Knowledge*: Which is so called, from its Resemblance to the Information, which the Mind receives by the Sensation of Sight; because it perceives those Kinds of Truth, as the Eye does Light, only by being directed to them: The Objects of which are those Propositions, that are called *self-evident Truths*: Such as, that two and two make four; that the Whole is greater than a Part; that Happiness is preferable to Misery, &c. which the Mind cannot but assent to, as soon as it is made to understand the Meaning of those Terms, and which can no more be proved, or demonstrated, than simple Ideas can be defined; as being themselves the Foundation of all Knowledge and Demonstration.

XX. But when the Mind is employed in a more complicated Operation, that is, in comparing together those *Relations*, or this Knowledge which we have acquired of the Agreement, or Disagreement of our Ideas; or, which is the same thing, when the Mind, by comparing the Propositions, which result from the Agreement, or Disagreement, of our Ideas, from thence deduces certain *Conclusions*; this Operation of the Spirit, is called *Reasoning*.

The Necessity and Laboriousness of which Operation, in order to arrive at Truth, shews the Imperfection of human Nature; since we find, by Experience, that there is but a very small Part of Knowledge, which is so self-evident to us, as to be *intuitive*. Whereas Beings of a superior Nature, have, probably, their intuitive Knowledge enlarged, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures: By which Means, those Degrees of Knowledge, which human Beings are groping after, by long and tedious Deductions of Reason, are open, at once, to the Eyes of their Understanding, and strike them, at once, with an intuitive
 4 View ;

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View ; which is always the more extensive, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures.

XXI. And hence it is, that [9] *Plato*, speaking of human Abilities in the Investigation of Truth, calls it, *beholding Things in the Glass of Reason* : Which he explains, by saying, That as they who contemplate an Eclipse of the Sun, lose the Sight of it, unless they are so careful as to view its Reflexion in Water, or to look at it through some Medium, such as thick Glass ; so the Eye of an human Spirit is too weak to find out Truth, unless it looks at it through the Medium of Reason ; which *St. Paul* also calls [1] *seeing through a Glass darkly*.

XXII. We do indeed see through a Glass darkly, by the Means of this Tegment of Flesh ; this earthly Tabernacle, that encompasseth our Spirit : Since it is manifest, that the intelligent Spirit within Man is, in itself, endowed with Faculties, greatly superior to those Powers it exerciseth in the human Understanding ; and performs many

[9] *Plato* in *Phædo*. [1] 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

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Operations within us, and upon us, that are not only above our Power to direct, but above our Understanding to comprehend. That Power, which is constantly working within us, to form and preserve the regular Disposition of our bodily Organs, and to change the Food which we eat, into Blood, into Flesh, and into Bones ; and which, according to the Naturalists, is said always to work most powerfully, when the human Understanding is asleep, is manifestly above our Comprehension.

XXIII. It is a common Observation, that when the Belly is full, the Bones would be at rest ; which seems entirely owing to this, that the Spirit, being unmolested with human Cogitations, and its Attendance upon our Will, may be more at leisure to pursue those Operations, which are immediately necessary towards our Preservation. For that it is the same wise Agent, which operates in the Digestion of our Food, and that enables us to put in Execution the Directions of our Will, appears from hence, that when we have a Mind to move a Finger, or a Leg, that Part of the human Understanding, which is under our Direction,
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is capable of doing no more than the Power of willing it ; but how to perform this Action, it is as ignorant of as the Beast in the Field.

XXIV. Which Operation of the Spirit, is that which is known by the Name of *Instinct*, and goes through the whole Creation. It is by *Instinct* that the minutest Particles of Matter attract or repel each other : It is by *Instinct* that the Flower of the Field, which outdoes *Solomon* in all his Glory, is directed in throwing forth its Leaves and its Flowers, and forming its Fruit in due Season : It is by *Instinct* that the Birds of the Air build their Nests ; and the Beasts of the Field provide for themselves and their Young, with a Sagacity superior to the Directions of human Wisdom.

XXV. Whether the Spirits of all created Beings or even of all Beings of the same Species, are equally perfect, is a Question not very easy to determine ; because, though we find, by Experience, a vast Difference, between the Understandings of Men, not only with regard to their improved, but also their natural, Abilities ; yet this may arise, not from any Difference between the

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Spirits of Men, but from the different Formation of their bodily Organs ; which may have that Influence upon their Spirit, as sufficiently to account for the Difference of their Understandings : Since we frequently see bodily Distempers, such as Frenzies and Fevers, make such an Alteration in the Understanding, as to reduce Men, at other Times of good and sensible Dispositions, at least, to the Level, with Madmen and Idiots.

XXVI. And therefore we cannot be positive, but that all created Spirits, may only differ, according to the different Combinations of that material System, with which they are circumscribed, and in which they are enclosed, by the great Author of Nature. For, as Extension seems to be a Property peculiar to material Substance, it may be, that all created Spirits, do not only owe their Shape, and the Limits of their Existence, to Matter, but also the Extent of those Faculties, which they are permitted to exert. And that the same Spirit, which, when cloathed with one Set of material Organs, is only capable of exerting its Intelligence in the Performance of Attraction or
Re-

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Repulsion, and when jarring Elements meet, breaks forth in Thunder and Lightning, and Earthquakes, or any other mechanical Operations, may, when united to a different Sett of Organs, of a more exquisite and delicate Contexture, be capable of exercising voluntary Motion, may be enabled to think and to reason, to operate in Love or Hatred, and, when provoked by Opposition, may be agitated with Anger and Resentment, and break forth in Quarrels, Contention, and War.

XXVII. What other Spirits there are in the Universe, beside those which belong to this terraqueous Globe, and how or when they came into Existence, human Understandings are not capable of pointing out: But more than probable it is, that the great Expanse is full of Spirits of different Ranks and Degrees, from the lowest Power of Activity to the highest Degree of Perfection, which it is possible for created Spirits to be possessed of.

XXVIII. To what Degree of Perfection Spirits are capable of being created, human Knowledge cannot possibly determine: But
certain

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certain it is, that the Degree must be limited in every Being, but God alone; and that God cannot create or produce any Being, equal in Power to, or independent on, himself; because two All-powerfuls, two Supremes, would imply a Contradiction.

XXIX. We may, however, easily suppose, that God may communicate to the Works of his Hands, such Portions of his own Attributes, as are greatly beyond the Comprehension of Mankind to conceive: Because God can do every thing that does not imply a Contradiction. For, as a blind Man cannot apprehend how a Shepherd, from the Top of an Hill, can preside over several Flocks of Sheep, wandering about, at a Distance from each other; how he knows when they stray, or how, by the Help of his Eye-sight, he can be, as it were, omnipresent: So a Man of the greatest Abilities may, for Want of Faculties, be unable to conceive that Power, whereby a created intelligent Agent, of superior Qualifications to those communicated to Mankind, can be enabled to see in Darkneſs as well as Light; to know the inmost Reſſes and Thoughts of Mens Hearts; to preſide at
once

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once over such a World. as this which we inhabit, and where two or three are gathered together, there to be also invisible in the Midst of them: And yet such a Power may certainly be communicated, because it implies no Contradiction.

XXX. In like Manner, therefore, as we see Mankind furnished with Abilities to contrive and form several Machines of wonderful Force and Efficacy; to build Houses and Ships, make Clocks and Watches; and govern Kingdoms: So there seems to be no Contradiction, in supposing that God might communicate so much Power to one of his own Creatures, of a more exalted Nature than Man, as to enable him to create inferior Beings, and frame a World of his own, composed of intelligent Agents: Which Power, however must be limited, and must be dependent on the Supreme Being.

XXXI. And, as the Almighty God is the only supreme, infinite, unlimited, Being in the Universe; so is he, probably, the only unembodied Spirit that exists: That is, the only Spirit which is not limited, clogged, and fettered, with some Kind, or Degree, of in-

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inactive Matter, which may serve to give a Form and Shape, or Boundary, to its spiritual Nature. For [2] *there are Bodies celestial, and Bodies terrestrial; but the Glory of the celestial is one, and the Glory of the terrestrial is another.* And as we know not what the Essence of that inactive Principle is, which we call *Matter*, we cannot say, to what exquisite Degrees of Perfection its Properties are reducible, or what Improvement it is capable of receiving; but that some [3] Spirits may be furnished with Bodies of so delicate a Texture, that they may *cloath themselves with Light, as it were with a Garment, may make the Clouds their Chariots, and walk upon the Wings of the Wind:* By the organical Disposition of which Bodies, the Spirits united thereto may be capable of receiving and communicating to

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 40.

[3] Most of the ancient Fathers supposed the Angels to have Bodies. See Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* xli. p. 101. as also Huetii *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. 2, 5. *Tertullian* was so absurd, as to suppose even God to have a Body, *Tert. de Carne Christi*, cap. 11. which I suppose he borrowed from the old Platonic Notion, of God being the Soul of the World. But this God, he ought to have considered, was not supposed to be the Supreme God. See Plato in *Timæo*: See also Virg. *Æneid.* lib. vi. 721.

each

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each other Ideas of bodily Pain and bodily Pleasure, as well as intellectual Pain and intellectual Pleasure; may have their Affections and their Passions as well as we; their Friendships and Animosities; their Wars and Alliances; none of which, however, we can form any real Idea, or Notion of, for Want of the same Kind of Senses, which they are furnished with; any more than a deaf Man can of Sounds, or a blind Man can of Light and Colours.

XXXII. And, as to the Time when they were created, we are as ignorant of that, as we are of their Natures. But probable it is, that as God is an active Spirit, for *God is a Spirit*, and hath existed from all Eternity, he hath been constantly employed in exerting this active Faculty; and therefore may have created some intelligent Beings, from such a distant Duration of Time, as we can no otherwise describe but by calling it *eternal*. For to imagine that there are no Spirits in the wide Expanse of Space, but what have Reference to this teraqueous Globe, this Speck of Matter, on which Mankind are placed, or even this planetary System, which is visible to human Eyes;
and

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and that no Worlds, filled with intelligent Spirits, were created till about 6000 Years ago; about which Time, both Reason and Revelation agree, that this Ball of Earth began to revolve about the Sun, is a Thought unworthy of a Philosopher, and inconsistent with the Infinity of God's Power, as well as with the Eternity of his Existence.

XXXIII. And yet we ought to take Notice, that in the Language of the Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, when the *Creation* is spoken of, it is only to be considered as referring to the Creation of this World, in which there is no Mention made of the Creation of Angels, or of any other Beings, because it would have been foreign to the Purpose: And that therefore, St. *John* begins his Gospel with the same Expression that *Moses* does; *In the Beginning*, i. e. of this World. For when we speak of any Beings, which existed before this World was created, having no Measures of Time, whereby to denote, or distinguish the different Durations of their Existence, we must equally say of them all, that they existed [4] *in the Beginning*, or *before the*

• [4] Gen. i. 1. John i. 1. xvii. 5. Psal. cii. 5. Prov. viii. 22, 23. Micah v. 2.

World

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World was, or of old, or from Everlasting.

See Sect. L. LI. LII.

XXXIV. And as God may communicate what Proportions he pleases of his Attributes, to the different Gradations of created Beings, with which he hath been pleased to fill the Universe : Each of these, with regard to Beings of their own Species, may have such Faculties and Properties communicated to them, as may render them knowable to each other. But, with regard to Beings of a different Nature, those of a superior, or more excellent Kind, may not be cognisable, by Beings of an inferior Order ; though Beings of an inferior Kind may be easily cognisable to those of a more exalted Nature ; the Properties of the one being of too exquisite and delicate a Frame and Contexture, to affect the Perception or strike the Senses of the other. And hence it is, that human Beings may be surrounded with Myriads of spiritual Agents, without ever being sensible thereof ; unless those superior Beings are pleased to assume such Forms, and condescend to furnish themselves with such Qualifications, as are capable of making an Impression on the human Spirit

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Spirit from within, or the human Senses from without.

XXXV. *Hesiod*, one of the first *Heathen* Authors extant, supposeth Myriads of invifible Spirits cloathed in Air, attending upon this terreftrial Globe, and employed as *Angels*, that is, *Messengers*, between the great God and Mankind, obferving their Actions, And reporting them to *Jupiter*. And [5] *Plato* fays, that “ *Saturn* well knowing
“ there was no Man who could have
“ absolute Empire over others, without
“ abandoning himfelf to all Kinds of Violence and Injuftice, fubjected the Nations
“ not to Men, but to more noble and excellent Beings, as their Lords and Governors ; namely to [6] *Dæmons*, or intelligent Spirits, of a more divine and better Nature than themfelves, after the fame Manner, as we deal with our Cat-

[5] *Plato*, *de Leg.* lib. iv.

[6] Ἄλλα γὰρ θεοί τε καὶ δαίμονες, *Δαίμονας*. By the Word *Dæmon*, we are not to underftand *Evil-Spirits*, as it hath been vulgarly thought to mean ; but rather happy ones, the Word *δαίμων*, *Dæmon*, originally fignifying happy. But as thofe Spirits to which the *Heathen* gave the Appellation of happy, have been deemed by *Chriftians* to be rather unhappy and evil Spirits ; therefore this Word is generally mifapplied.

tle :

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“tle: For, as we do not set a Bull over
“an whole Herd of his own Kind, nor a
“Goat to govern a Flock of Goats; but
“put those of both Kinds, under the Con-
“duct of a Man; so God, who loves
“Mankind, placed them, at first, under
“the Conduct of Angels.”

XXXVI. The [7] *Greeks*, it is certain, and *Plato*, in particular, borrowed many of their theological Sentiments from the *Hebrews*; among whom this, of a Number of invifible Spirits attending upon this Globe of Earth, and prefiding over States and Kingdoms, was certainly one. For the Opinion of the *Jews* upon this Head was, that Almighty God, the first Author and Creator of all Things, was of fo transcendent a Nature, that, before he created Beings of the loweft Rank, he produced an infinite Variety of Beings, in a gradual Defcent, which were ftill greater and fuperior to others, who yet were employed by him to act in a middle Station, between him and the lower Productions of his Almighty Power. The Septuagint Tranflation of the Bible therefore renders that Paflage in

[7] See Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* p. 507.

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the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. after this Manner: *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; When he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the Lord's Portion is his People Jacob, the [8] Line of his Inheritance Israel.* And the wise Son of *Sirach* saith, [9] *For in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, God set a Ruler (or Governing Angel) over every People; but Israel is the Lord's Portion.* The *Jews* accordingly supposed some of these Angels to have been appointed as Guardian or Governing Spirits [1], over the several Nations of the Earth; and that the Portion of *Israel* was particularly committed to the Care of that Being, who is here denoted by the Name of *the Lord*.

[8] Or *Boundary*. See 1 *Cor.* x. 16.

[9] *Ecclus* xvii. 17.

[1] It appears also from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that this was the Opinion of the *Christian Church* in his Time. See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* p. 309, 822, 828, 830, 832. Edit. *Oxon.* Pot.

XXXVII. It ought to be acknowledged, however, that the Words here quoted out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as rendered by the Septuagint, do not exactly agree with the *Hebrew* Copy of the Bible. For, according to the *Hebrew*, it should run thus : *When the Most High divided the Nations, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Children of Israel, and JEHOVAH's Portion is his People: Jacob is the Lot of his Inheritance.* But it should be observed, that although this Separation, or Dispersion of the Sons of *Adam*, this settling the Bounds of the Nations, was a Transaction which came to pass long before *Israel* had any Children to number, or was even himself in Being ; yet the Commentators have taken much Pains to reconcile this Text with the Matter of Fact ; and to make the Number of the various Nations upon Earth, agree with the Number of the Children of *Israel* ; which, nevertheless, they have not been able to accomplish : For, if the Number of the Children of *Israel* be computed by the Number of his immediate Descendents, which were

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only thirteen, *viz.* twelve Sons, and one Daughter; this Number would be too few for the Number of Nations dispersed over the Earth; and if all the Descendents of *Israel* be taken into the Account, then the Number will be infinitely too large. As therefore the reading of this Text according to the Septuagint Version, is supported by that Passage, already quoted, out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, as well as by other Parts of the Old Testament; and corresponds with the general Opinion of the most learned ancient *Jews*: I am inclined to prefer the Septuagint Version of this Text, to the present Reading in our *Hebrew* Bible.

XXXVIII. And what adds no small Weight with me in this Affair, is an Expression made use of by [2] *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where, speaking of the second coming of our Saviour, when he shall appear in a State of Glory, manifestly superior to Angels, he says, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in Subjection the World to come of which we speak.* Whence it seems to appear, that it was *St. Paul's*

[2] Heb. ii. 5.

Opinion,

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Opinion, that this present World had been put in Subjection to Angels.

XXXIX. Which Opinion is also confirmed by St. *Jude*, who seems to attribute the Error of the fallen Angels, who *sinned*, as (3) St. *Peter* expresseth it, to their Misconduct in the Government of those Provinces which were allotted to their Charge. For, says he, Ἀγγέλους τε τὰς μὴ τηρήσας τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν. *The Angels which kept not their Principalities with due Care; but neglected their proper Provinces, be (God) hath reserved in everlasting Chains under Darknefs*: For so this Verse ought to be translated. The Verb *τηρίω*, which we translate *kept*, signifying the keeping of a Thing with Care and Diligence: In which Sense it is used, when it is applied in the Septuagint to the (4) keeping the Commandments of God, and keeping our own Hearts, and our Ways. And in *Canticles* vii. 11, 12. it is used to denote the *Keepers* of a Vineyard, who

[3] 2 Pet. ii. 4.

[4] 1 Sam. xv. 11. Prov. iii. 1. 21. iv. 23. viii. 34.

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were to dress it, and cultivate it. And, as to the Word Ἀρχή, that is generally used, by the Septuagint to denote a *Principality*, as the word is rendered in the Margin of our *English* Bible. And it is to be observed, that it is the Word Ἀρχων and Ἀρχοντες, which *Daniel* gives to those ruling Angels, which are said, in the Book of [5] *Daniel*, to preside over the Realms of *Græcia*, *Persia*, and *Israel*. The Word ἀπολείπω, which our Translation renders *left*, is frequently applied by the Septuagint, to denote the leaving or neglecting any Business, which it was our Duty to have pursued; as when [6] *Baasha* is said to have *left off building* Ramah, *and let his Work cease*; and when *Solomon* blameth the [7] *strange Woman*, for *FORSAKING the Guide of her Youth*. The Word οἰκητήριον, though it properly signifies a *Dwelling-place*, in general, yet it is not confined to signify a House, nor even a Province, or larger Space of Ground; but is by the Prophet [8] *Jeremiah* applied to denote the wide Extent of God's holy Habitation in Heaven: However, it is here restrained by the Word ἰδιον, to

[5] Dan. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1. [6] 2 Chron. xvi. 5.
[7] Prov. ii. 17. [8] Jer. xxv. 30.

denote

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denote the proper and peculiar Provinces of these Angels, which they may be supposed to have been employed in the Conduct and Management of; and accordingly, the Word *οἰκέτης* denotes such a Domestick as is employed in the Business of the House, and is always used by the Septuagint to signify a [9] *Servant*. And therefore, this Expression of *Ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον*, may very well be understood to signify their forsaking, or neglecting, their proper Business, or Provinces, that were given into their Charge by God.

XL. As for the Opinion of the more modern *Jews*, it is no easy Matter to collect or fix their Sentiments; because that, since the coming of our Saviour, the *Jews*, not being willing to abide by the Expositions given to the Prophecies in the Old Testament, by the *Christians*, or even by their own ancient Paraphrasts, made a Collection of their oral Traditions, which they gathered together into one Book, which they called the *Talmud*: And finding many seeming Contradictions in the literal Interpretation of those Texts of Scripture, which

[9] Gen. ix. 25. xxvii. 37. xliv. 33, &c.

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were universally allowed by the ancient *Jews* to refer to their Messiah; and not being willing to expound them of different Advents of one and the same Person; the one in a State of Humiliation, and the other in a State of Glory; the one in this World, and the other in the next; they then ran into numberless absurd Contrivances, of expounding the Scriptures by a cabalistical Method of Interpretation, in finding out mysterious and hidden Meanings, not only in the Sentences and Words of Scripture, but also in the very Letters themselves, as well as in the Number of Letters, of which those Words were composed: And, by this Means, the Learning of the more modern *Jews* is reduced into such a nonsensical Jargon of Sounds, without Sense, as makes their Works infinitely tiresome in the Perusal. And therefore, rather than fatigue my Reader with an Account of such Trifles, I shall chuse to lay before him the Opinion of the most sensible and learned among the ancient *Jews*, as I find it collected very judiciously, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, who must be allowed to be a tolerable Judge, because he lived amongst them in the Land of *Judæa*.

XL. [1] " The *Jews*, says he, after
 " that Essence of the All-powerful God,
 " who had neither Beginning nor Origin,
 " place that [2] *Head* or *Chief*, which was
 " begotten of the Father, and therefore
 " was his First-born. Which, as he is
 " the Co-adjutor of his Council, is there-
 " fore called the Image of his Father.
 " Which *Chief*, as he far exceeds all crea-
 " ted Beings, is for this Reason called *the*
 " *Image of God*, the *Wisdom of God*, the
 " *Logos*, or *Word of God*, the *Prince of*
 " *the Lord's Host*, and the *Angel of his*
 " *Council*. As to those Intelligences, which
 " come after this *Chief*, they are of such
 " various and different Forms, that human
 " Expressions cannot denote them, but by
 " Comparifon and Analogy to those Things
 " which are the Objects of our Senses ;
 " as the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and
 " the Heaven, which enclofeth all Things.
 " As the divine Apostle does, when he fays,

[1] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

[2] 'Αρχη, which Word is sometimes used by the Authors
 of the Septuagint Version of the Bible, instead of 'Αρχων, to
 denote the *Head*, or *Chief*, of any Society, or collective
 Body of Men. See *Exod.* vi. 25.

" *There*

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“ *There is one Glory of the Sun, and another*
 “ *Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of*
 “ *the Stars, for one Star differeth from ano-*
 “ *ther Star in Glory.* In like Manner,
 “ must we think of the Subordination of
 “ unbodied, intelligent, Beings. For, as
 “ the ineffable and infinite Power of God
 “ (*like Heaven*) comprehends all Things ;
 “ in the second Place comes the operating,
 “ and illuminating Power of the divine
 “ *Logos* ; for which Reason he is called by
 “ the *Hebrews*, the *Light*, and the [3] *Sun*
 “ *of Justice* : Then, after this [4] second
 “ Essence, as it were in the Place of the
 “ *Moon* ; comes the *Holy Spirit*, which they
 “ place in this royal Dignity, and Degree of
 “ [5] Principality ; because it is the Will of
 “ the great Architect to appoint him to the
 “ the Principality of those inferior Beings,
 “ which may want his Assistance. Who
 “ therefore, obtaining the third Place,
 “ confers on those who are inferior to him,
 “ those excellent Virtues, which he himself
 “ received from another, to wit, from the
 “ divine *Logos*, his Better and Superior ;

[3] Mal. iv. 2. Which *Philo Judæus* interprets of the
Messiah. [4] *Δουλίαν ἐστίαν*. [5] *Ἀρχὴς*.

whom

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“ whom we before said was the second to
 “ the supreme, unbegotten, and almighty,
 “ God.—So, says he, all the *Hebrew* Divines,
 “ after that God, who is over all; and after
 “ his first-born Wisdom, pay [6] divine
 “ Worship to the third and holy Power,
 “ which they call the Holy Spirit, by which
 “ they themselves are illuminated, when
 “ they are divinely inspired.”

XLII. In another Place, [7] *Eusebius*,
 in explaining the Sentiments of the *Jews*,
 says, that, “ as *Milefus* made a second
 “ Principle of *Water*; *Heraclitus* of *Fire*;
 “ and *Pythagoras* of *Numbers*, &c; so the
 “ *Jews* made a second Essence of the *Lo-*
 “ *gos*, which was begotten by the *First*
 “ *Cause*.”

XLII. And in another Place, [8] *Euse-*
bius quotes a Passage of *Philo Judæus*,
 wherein that Author calls the *Logos*, the
 [9] *Second God*, in whose Image Man was
 created. And again, where he calls this

[6] Ἀποδείξουσιν. [7] *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap.
 12. [8] *Euseb, Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13. [9] Δεύ-
 τερου Θεού.

Logos,

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Logos, The first-born Son of God, to whom God had committed the Care of all Things, [1] *as a great King appoints a Minister, or Viceroy, to act under him.*

XLIV. And, in another Place, [2] he quotes *Philo*, for calling this *Second Cause* the *Image of God, the first-born Logos, the most antient of Angels, and, as it were, the Archangel, subsisting with many Names.* For says *Philo*, He is called the [3] *Chief, the Name of God, the Logos, the Image, and the [4] Overseer, Visitor, or Regarder of Israel.*

XLV. I am very sensible, that some learned Men are of Opinion, that these were only the Sentiments of the *Jews* belonging to *Palestine* and *Egypt*; but if we look into those Books, which contain the Doctrines, which all *Jews* either do, or ought to profess, that is, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we shall find that there is great Foundation for the afore-mentioned Opinions of the *Jews*, with regard to Angels;

[1] Οἷα τὶς μεγάλη βασιλὴς ὑπαρχὸς διαδίδχεται.

[2] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. xi. cap. 15. Περὶ τοῦ διυτίου αἰτίου.

[3] Ἀρχὴ.

[4] Ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραὴλ.

and

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and for all these Appellations, which are here given to this *secondary Essence*, who is, by *Philo*, very justly called *the Archangel with many Names*. For the Prophet [5] *Daniel* declares, that the Angel *Gabriel*, having touched him, and spoken to him, said, that he was *come to make him understand what should befall his People in the latter Days*, and that he would have come sooner, but that [6] *the Prince* (or *ruling or governing Angel*) of the Kingdom of Persia *withstood him one and twenty Days, till Michael, one of the chief Princes*, or, as the Hebrew expresseth it, the FIRST PRINCE, *came to help him*. And again, the Angel says, *And now I will return to fight against the Prince of Persia, and when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of Græcia shall come. But I will shew thee what is noted in the Scripture of Truth; and there is none that boldeth with me in these Things, but MICHAEL your Prince*. And a little afterwards he calleth MICHAEL *the great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel*. Or, as *Philo*

[5] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1.

[6] Heb. מַשְׁכָּל. Sept. Ἀρχων. *Simmas*, the Disciple of *Socrates*, in *Plato's Phædo*, speaking of Guardian Angels, calls them Δεσπόται, i. e. *Lords*, or *Governors*.

would

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would have expressed it, ὁ ὀρᾶν Ἰσραήλ :
*He that regardeth, or is the Guardian An-
 gel of, Israel.*

XLVI. And correspondent hereto the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, as before quoted, renders that Passage in the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the LORD's Portion is his People Jacob, the Line of his Inheritance* Israel. Upon which Words *Eusebius* has this Remark. [7] “ By the Words *the Most High*, *Moses* denotes the Father, who is “ God over all; and by *the Lord*, he means “ the *Logos*, who is called *Lord*, as being, “ with regard to us, next to that God who “ is over all. But, says he, all Nations “ whom he calls the Sons of *Adam*, were, “ for Reasons to us unsearchable, distribu- “ ted according to the Will of the Most “ High, to Governing and Guardian An-

[7] *Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 7.*

“ gels,

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“ gels, who elude our Sight. But to the
 “ most eminent Governor, Ruler, and King
 “ of all, as to his only Son, he allots the
 “ Government of *Jacob*, or *Israel*.” And
 in this Interpretation he is supported by *Cle-*
mens Alexandrinus, who says positively, that
 [8] *Angels were appointed by God to preside*
over Nations and Cities: That [9] they
are his Ministers in the Government of ter-
restrial Affairs; and, [1] in particular, that
they were by his Command distributed among
the Nations, &c.

XLVII. Whence it is manifest, that, ac-
 cording to the Scriptures of the Old Testa-
 ment, Angels were appointed to preside
 over People and Nations upon Earth, and
 that one Angel, in particular, who is called,
 by *Moses* [2], *Jehovah*, and by the Septua-
 gint is translated *the Lord*, had *Israel* assign-
 ed to him by the *Most High*, as the Portion
 of his Inheritance; and therefore may very
 reasonably be supposed to be the same Person
 with that *First Prince*, mentioned by *Daniel*,

[8] *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. vi. p. 822. Edit. Pot.

[9] *Id. ibid.* lib. vii. p. 839. [1] *Id. ibid.* p. 832.

[2] See Sect. xxxvii.

whom

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whom he also calleth *MICHAEL*, *the great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel*; and with that Archangel with many Names, whom *Philo* calls *the Regarder of Israel*.

XLVIII. And what is remarkable, is this, that this Name of *Michael*, which is given by *Daniel* to this Archangel, literally signifies [3] *who is like God*; and accordingly *Philo* observes, that one of the Names belonging to this Archangel was *the Image of God*. Which Image [4] he calleth the *Logos* and *the second God*, and supposed Man to have been made in the Image of this Image; Because, says he, “nothing mortal can be formed in the Image of the Supreme God, the Father of all Things.”

XLIX. Which *Logos*, or *Word* of God, is, in the *Book of Wisdom*, manifestly spoken of, as the Guardian Angel of *Israel*; where the Author of that elegant Work, in

[3] The Word *Michael*, being derived from the three Hebrew Words, *Mi*, which signifies *who*; *Cha*, which signifies *so*, or *like*, or *the same*; and *El*, which signifies *God*.

[4] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.

describing

describing the [5] Angel, who was sent to rescue them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, by destroying the First-born of the *Egyptians*, says: For [6] *while all Things were in quiet Silence, and that Night was in the Midst of her swift Course, thine Almighty WORD leapt down from Heaven, out of thy royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the Midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thy unfeigned Commandment, as a sharp Sword, and standing up, filled all Things with Death, and it touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.* And therefore also the *Jerusalem Targum* on *Exod.* xii. 23. where it is said in the *Hebrew*, *And JEHOVAH will pass through to smite the Egyptians*, paraphrases it by saying, *And the WORD OF JEHOVAH shall pass through to smite the Egyptians.* Which Expression of *Memra Jehovah*, or *Word of Jehovah*, is so favourite an Expression, among all the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts on the Old Testament, that, where the original Expression in the *Hebrew* says, *Jehovah* did such or such a Thing, they commonly paraphrase it, by attributing those Operations to

[5] *Exod.* xxiii. 21. [6] *Wisd.* xviii. 13—16.

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the *Memra*, that is, the *Logos*, or *Word of Jehovah*. Instances of which it would be endless to produce.

L. And as this Angel, whose Portion is *Israel*, is called the *Word* of God, because God employeth him to carry his Word; so is he also, by the same Figure of Rhetoric, called the *Wisdom of God*, because he is employed by God to execute the Purposes of his Wisdom. For thus the wise Son of *Sirach*, when speaking of this Guardian Angel of *Israel*, by the Name of *Wisdom*, says [7], *I came out of the Mouth of the High, and covered the Earth as a Cloud. I dwelt in high Places, and my Throne is in a cloudy Pillar. So the Creator of all Things gave me a Commandment; and he that MADE me caused me to rest, and said, Let thy Dwelling be in Jacob, and thine Inheritance in Israel. He CREATED me from the Beginning, before the World, and I shall never fail. In the holy Tabernacle I served him; and so was I established in Sion. Likewise in the beloved City he gave me Rest, and in Jerusalem was my Power. And I took Root in an honou-*

[7] Eccclus. xxiv. 1—12.

rable

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able People, even in the Portion of the Lord's Inheritance. I therefore being ETERNAL, am given to all my Children which are named of him, i. e. I am sent to the Children of Israel, who are God's peculiar People, and are so named of him. See Lev. xxvi. 12. Micah iv. 5.

LI. Where it is to be observed, that this Being is spoken of, *as coming out of the Mouth of the Most High, made and created*; which must be understood in the same Sense with those Words of *Moses*, when he describes the Creation of *Light*: *And God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light*, Gen. i. 3. It is likewise to be observed, that this Guardian Angel of *Israel*, whose *Throne* was in *the cloudy Pillar*, &c. is here declared to have been a *created* Being, in Terms as strong and plain as it is in the Power of Language to express. It may also further be remarked, that although he is positively said to have been *made and created*, yet because he was spoken into Existence before the Sun and the Moon, those Measures of Duration, which were given Mankind, [8] *for Signs and for Seasons, and*

[8] Gen. i. 14.

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for Days and for Years; because he was in the Beginning, before the World, he styles himself eternal. See Sect. xxxiii.

LII, And in the same Kind of Style it is that *Solomon*, speaking of this same Being under the Denomination of *Wisdom*, represents it as a separate intelligent Agent, personally subsisting with God *from Everlasting*, because it was *brought forth* before the Creation of this World. For thus, speaking in the Person, and under the Character of *Wisdom*, he saith [9], *Jehovah* [1] *possessed me in the Beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old. I was set up from Everlasting; from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was. When there were no Depths, I was BROUGHT FORTH; when there were no Fountains abounding with Water. Before the Mountains were settled; before the Hills was I BROUGHT FORTH: While as yet he had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the highest Parts of the Dust of the World. When he prepared the Heavens, I was there: When he set a Compass upon the Face of the Deep: When he gave to the Sea his Decree, that the Wa-*

[9] Prov. viii. 22. [1] In the Septuagint it is, *The Lord created me.*

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ter should not pass his Commandment : When he appointed the Foundations of the Earth ; then I was by him as one brought up with him : And I was always his Delight, rejoicing always before him.

LIII. But *Philo Judæus* further observes, that this Archangel with many Names, whose Portion was *Israel*, was also called by the Name of God. Now let us see what Foundation there is for this in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The Name of God, which the *Jews* never pronounced, but called it the ineffable Name, was *Jehovah* ; so that, whenever in reading the Bible, they met with this Word, instead thereof, they always said *Adonai* or *Elohim* ; and the Authors of the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, who were *Jews*, when they rendered it into *Greek*, always translated it by the Word *Κύριος*, which we in *English* render *the Lord*. Which is the Reason also why *Philo* does not mention that Name of God by which this Archangel was denominated, but says only, in general, that he was called by the Name of God. Now the Instances in the Old Testament, where an Angel, and in particular, that

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Angel which acted as a Guardian Angel to the Seed of *Abraham*, and presided over the Children of *Israel*, is called *Jehovah*, are very numerous.

LIV. Thus, when *Hagar* fled from the Face of her Mistress, it is said, that *an Angel of Jehovah found her in the Wilderness, and the Angel of Jehovah said unto her, Return to thy Mistress.* Now, though *Moses* in this Place calls the Person who spake to *Hagar* an Angel of *Jehovah*, yet *Moses* afterwards mentions this same Person under the direct Name of *Jehovah*: For, says he, [2] *Hagar called the Name of JEHOVAH that spake to her, Thou God seest me.*

LV. Thus also it is said of *Abraham*, that [3] *JEHOVAH appeared unto him in the Plains of Mamre; and he sat at the Tent-door in the Heat of the Day; and he lift up his Eyes and looked, and lo, three Men stood by him.* Now that two of the Persons which are here called Men, because they appeared as such, had each of them the Appellation of *Jehovah* given them, will ap-

[2] Gen. xvi. 7—13. [3] Gen. xviii. 1, &c.

pear from the Context: For when one of these Men enquired for *Sarah*, and said, *Lo! Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son*; upon which *Sarah* laughed within herself: Then it is positively said, that **JEHOVAH** said unto Abraham, *Why did Sarah laugh? Is any thing too hard for Jehovah?* And yet it is said, after all this, that *the Men rose up from thence, and looked towards Sodom; and Abraham went with them to bring them on the Way: And JEHOVAH said, Shall I hide from Abraham that Thing which I do?* And when two of the Men had turned their Faces from thence, and went towards *Sodom*; it is said, Abraham stood yet before Jehovah. And when *Abraham* was pleading in Favour of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, he said, among other Things, to this *Jehovah* with whom he was conversing, *Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* And when the Discourse was ended, *Moses* says, that **JEHOVAH** went his Way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham, and Abraham returned to his Place. Whence it is manifest beyond all Doubt, that one of these three Men who was left alone in Conversation with *Abraham*, is called *Jehovah*, and *the Judge of all the Earth*.

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LVI. And when the two Men, which had left *Abraham* and *Jehovah* conversing together, came to *Sodom*, it is said, [4] *And there came two ANGELS to Sodom at Even. And when the Morning arose, then the ANGELS hastened Lot. And he said,* that is, one of the Angels said, *Escape for thy Life ; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. And the Sun was risen upon the Earth, when Lot entered into Zoar. Then JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from JEHOVAH out of Heaven.* Whence it is plain, that one of these two Angels is here also dignified with the Appellation of *Jehovah*, and yet is represented as acting under the Influence of another *Jehovah* in Heaven. So that it is manifest, here are two distinct Persons, or Angels, which appeared upon Earth, to each of which is given the Appellation of *Jehovah*.

LVII. Again, when *Jacob* lived with his Father *Laban*, and was giving an Account to his Wives of their Father's Conduct and

[4]. Gen. xix. 1, &c.

Be-

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Behaviour towards him, he says, [5] *And the Angel of God spake to me in a Dream, saying, Jacob ; and I said, Here am I; and he said, I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the Pillar, and vowed a Vow unto me. Now the Vow which Jacob made at Bethel was this: [6] If God be with me, and will keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on ; so that I come again to my Father's House in Peace : Then shall JEHOVAH be my God. Whence it is plain, that an Angel of God, speaking to Jacob, calls himself [7] Jehovah the God of Bethel.*

LVIII. Thus also we find it said, that [8] *the ANGEL OF JEHOVAH appeared unto Moses, in a Flame of Fire out of the Bush. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great Sight, why the Bush is not burnt. And when JEHOVAH saw that he had turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the Midst of the Bush. Moreover, he said, I am the God of thy Fathers, the*

[5] Gen. xxiv. 47. xxxi. 11, 13. [6] Gen. xxviii. 20, 21.

[7] See also Gen. xxxii. 24, &c. and compare it with Hosea xii. 4, 5. [8] Exod. iii. 2, 6. Acts vii. 30, 35.

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God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his Face; for he was afraid to look upon God. Where it is manifest, that an Angel is called by Moses, Jehovah; and that the Angel calls himself, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

TIX. Thus also, when the Children of Israel were marching towards the Red-Sea, it is said, that [9] *the ANGEL of God, which went before the Camp of Israel, removed and went behind them, and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and stood behind them.* And yet, in another Place, it is said, that [1] *JEHOVAH went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way; and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light.*

LX. It is also said, when Moses went up to Mount Sinai, that [2] *JEHOVAH called unto him out of the Mountain.* And again, that *Moses came and called for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all these Words which JEHOVAH commanded him.*

[c] Exod. xiv. 19. [1] Exod. xiii. 21. [2] Exod. xix. 3, &c.

And

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And that Moses *returned all the Words of the People of Israel unto* JEHOVAH: That JEHOVAH *said again unto Moses, Go unto the People, and sanctify them To-day and To-morrow, and be ready against the third Day: For the third Day JEHOVAH will come down, in the Sight of all the People, upon Mount Sinai. And the third Day Mount Sinai was altogether on a Smoke, because JEHOVAH descended upon it in Fire. — And JEHOVAH came down upon Mount Sinai. — And JEHOVAH called up Moses unto the Top of the Mount. And God spake all these Words, saying, I am JEHOVAH thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, &c.* And yet St. Stephen, who was a Jew, affirms, that [3] *the Law was given by the Disposition of ANGELS: And that it was an ANGEL that spake to Moses from Mount Sinai, and with our Fathers, who received the lively Oracles to give unto us.* And St. Paul says, [4] *that the Law was ordained of ANGELS.* And, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, he calls it [5] *the Word spoken of ANGELS.*

[2] Acts vii. 33, 38. [4] Gal. iii. 9. [5] Heb. ii. 2.

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LXI. It is likewise to be observed, that, when [6] *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and seventy of the Elders of *Israel*, went up into the Mount, by the Command of God, it is said, *They saw the God of Israel*; — *also they saw God, and did eat and drink*: That is, they saw the God of *Israel*, and did live to eat and drink. Whereas, when *Moses* afterwards applied to God, and begged it of him, as a Favour, that he might see his Glory, or Face, that he might know him; [7] *JEHOVAH said unto him, Thou canst not see my Face; for there shall no Man see me, and live. But, says he to Moses, I will make all my Goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of JEHOVAH before thee: And it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Clift of the Rock, and will cover thee with my Hand while I pass by: And I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what* [8]

[6] *Exod. xxiv. 10, &c.* [7] *Exod. xxxiii. 20, &c.*

[8] The Original, which in our Translation, we render *Back-Parts*, properly signifies any Thing or Person that is behind or followeth another. In which Sense it is used *Gen. xviii. 10.* When *Moses* saith, *And Sarah heard it in the*

follows

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follows me; but my Face shall not be seen. And accordingly when *Moses* returned to the Mount it is said, that **JEHOVAH** descended in the Cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the Name of **JEHOVAH**. And **JEHOVAH** passed by before him, and proclaimed **JEHOVAH**, **JEHOVAH** God, merciful and gracious, &c. And *Moses* made haste, and bowed his Head and worshiped.

LXII. Whence it is manifest, that this *Jehovah*, whom *Moses* made haste to worship, could not be that *Jehovah*, whose Face could not be seen, whom no Man could see and live; but the *Jehovah* who followed the invisible *Jehovah*, and was probably the same Person with that God of *Israel*, who was seen by *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the Seventy Elders of *Israel*: And who is called by God in another Place, *the Similitude*, or Image, of *Jehovah*. For, says *Jehovah* unto the

Tent-door, which was BEHIND him. So also, *Joshua* vi. 13. *And the Rearward followed AFTER the Ark.* So also, 2 Sam. x. 9. *When Joab saw that the Front of the Battle was against him before and BEHIND.* See also 2 Chron. xiii. 14, &c.

People

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People of Israel, with my Servant Moses will I speak Mouth to Mouth; and [9] the Similitude of Jehovah shall be behold.

LVIII. Now this *Jehovah*, or this Similitude, Image, or Representative of *Jehovah*, which *Moses* beheld, is manifestly the same Person with that Guardian Angel of *Israel*, who had so often appeared already, and spoken to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, in the Name and Person of *Jehovah*; because it was on this very Account that *Moses* desired of God to shew him his Glory, that he might know the Person who was to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. For thus it is, that *Moses* introduceth his Request: [1] *And Moses said unto JEHOVAH, See thou sayest unto me, bring up this People: And thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me.—Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found Grace in thy Sight, shew me now* [2] *THY WAY;*

[9] Numb. xii 7, 8. [1] Exod. xxxiii. 12, &c.

[2] The original Word אניני is used in a great Variety of Senses in the Old Testament; the Septuagint Version renders it in this Place εαυτο, *thyself*. And in the same Sense it probably is, that *David*, praying to *Jehovah*, says, *God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause thy Face to shine*

that

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that I may know thee: And consider that this Nation is thy People. And JEHOVAH said, I will do this Thing that thou hast spoken, &c. And he said, thou canst not see my Face; for there shall no Man see my Face and live. But it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Cleft of the Rock; and will cover thee with mine Hand, while I pass by; and I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what followeth me: But my Face shall not be seen, &c.

LXIV. So that this Being which followeth *Jehovah*, this *Way*, this *Glory* of *Jehovah*, whom the invisible *Jehovah* proclaimed to be *Jehovah* as well as himself, is manifestly that Angel, who was appointed by God to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. And therefore God saith to *Moses*, in another Place, [3] *Behold I send an Angel before thee to keep thee in the Way,*

upon us: That THY WAY (or Thou) may be known upon Earth, thy saving Health among all Nations, Psal. lxyii. 2. And in Psal. lxxvii. 13. He says, THY WAY, O God, (or Thou) is in the Sanctuary. And hence probably it is, that the Prophet Amos calls the God or Idol of Beersheba, the Way of Beersheba, Am. viii. 14.

[3] *Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.*

and

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and to bring thee into the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions; FOR MY NAME IS IN HIM. That is, behold I send an Angel before thee acting in my Stead, and by my Authority; beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for *I have proclaimed him Jehovah*; and, as he acts by my Authority, and my Power is delegated unto him, as my *Similitude*, Image, or Representative, he will not pardon your Transgressions; for my Name of *Jehovah* is in him.

LXV. And hence it comes to pass, that this Second *Jehovah* is in a particular Manner distinguished by the Appellation of the *God of Israel*, the *Jehovah of Zion*, and the *Jehovah of the Jews*. For thus the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking by Authority from God the great *Jehovah* saith, [4] *But I will have Mercy on the House of Judah*, and will save them by *JEHOVAH THEIR GOD*. And *Zechariah* the Prophet, speaking of the same People,

[4] Hof. i. 7.

saith,

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saith, [5] *I will strengthen them in JEHOVAH, and they shall walk up and down in HIS NAME, saith Jehovah.* Not in my Name, but in his Name, saith the invisible *Jehovah*; that is, in the Name of *the God of Israel*, whom they had seen. And, in another Place, the same Prophet saith, [6] *Sing and rejoice, O Daughters of Zion; for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the Midst of thee, saith JEHOVAH: And many Nations shall be joined to JEHOVAH in that Day, and shall be my People: And I will dwell in the Midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS hath sent me unto thee.* Where the *Jehovah of Zion* is plainly distinguished from the *Jehovah of Hosts*, and acknowledgeth himself to be sent by him.

LXVI. The only Difficulty in this Case is this, that the *Jehovah of Zion*, though in this one Place he acknowledgeth himself to be sent by the *Jehovah of Hosts*, yet in other Places this *Jehovah of Zion*, or the Angel which appeared unto *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, does not always de-

[5] Zech. x. 12. [6] Zech. ii. 10, 11.

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clare that he is deputed, and speaks by the delegated Authority of the *Jehovah* of Hosts ; which is the general Meaning of the Phrase of speaking *in the Name* of any one ; but actually and literally speaks in his own Name, and calls himself *Jehovah*, and saith, *I am the God of Abraham ; and I am the God of Bethel ; and I brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, &c.* and positively prohibits *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* from worshipping any other God but himself : *Thou*, says he, *shalt have none other Gods before me.* Thereby seeming to forbid even the Worship of the Supreme *Jehovah*, the *Jehovah* of Hosts.

LXVII. In Answer to which it is to be observed, that the *Hebrews* were far from being explicit and accurate in their Style, but left great Room for the [7] Imagination of the Reader to supply, and fill up the Deficiencies ; and that it was very customary for one Person to speak in the Name

[7] Any one that does but open the *English* Bible, and observe the Number of Words that are inserted in *Italic* Characters, none of which are in the Original, will immediately perceive the Truth of this Assertion.

and

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and Character of another Person, without making the least Mention of the other Person, in whose Name the Words were spoken. Thus it is allowed by the universal Consent of all Antiquity, as well *Jews* as *Christians*, that, in the second Psalm, *David* is there speaking of the *Messiah*, and yet the whole Psalm is delivered in the Person and Character of *David* himself. *Why*, says he, *do the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain Thing? The Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Rulers take Counsel together against JEHOVAH, and against his anointed. He that sitteth in Heaven shall laugh; JEHOVAH shall have them in Derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his sore Displeasure. Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion. I will declare the Decree JEHOVAH hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession.*

LXVIII. Now it is plain, that the Decree here spoken of, though it was delivered

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ed unto *David*, yet the Purport thereof was not promised to *David*, but to some one of the Seed of *David*, 2 *Sam.* vii. 12, 14, 16. of whom God said, *I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son.* And yet *David* saith, when speaking of this Decree, *I will declare the Decree* JEHOVAH *batb* said unto ME, *THOU art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* And what is further remarkable is, that it was not *Jehovah*, but *Nathan* the Prophet, who spake to *David* by Authority from God.

LXIX. And indeed nothing is more common than for Prophets and Angels to speak authoritatively in their own Name, without introducing their Speech with an explanatory Preface, mentioning the Person in whose Name they speak. Thus the Prophet *Isaiab* saith, [8] *The Word that* *Isaiah the Son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem* — [9] *For behold the Lord, the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS *doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the Stay and the Staff, &c.* — And then some Verses after-

[8] *Isai.* ii. 1.

[9] *Isai.* iii. 1—4.

wards,

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wards, he saith, *And I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes shall rule over them, &c.* Where it is manifest, that the Prophet speaks in this last Place, in the first Person, in his own Name, without inserting the Words, *and JEHOVAH said unto me*, which seem necessary to have been inserted, in order to make his Words intelligible, if he intended they should be understood of *Jehovah*, and not of himself; but that he knew very well the *Jews* would, of themselves, supply the Deficiency.

LXX. In like Manner, in the Revelation of St. *John*, though the Apostle declares, that it was delivered to him by an Angel, and calls it [1] *The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his ANGEL unto his Servant John*; Yet through the whole Book this Angel speaks indifferently in the first Person, either when he speaks in the Name of God the Father, or in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, or in his own Name. Thus, *Rev.*

[1] *Rev.* i. 1.

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i. 10. St. *John* says, *I was in the Spirit on the Lord's-Day, and heard behind me a great Voice, as of a Trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, &c.* Now this Voice was undoubtedly the Voice of the Angel, who was sent to testify unto him; and yet he speaks in the first Person, saying, *I am Alpha and Omega*: And Verse 13. when he turned to see the Voice that spake with him, he says, [2] *And when I saw him, I fell at his Feet as dead: And he laid his Right-hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not: I am the First and the Last; I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore.* Where it is manifest that this Angel speaks at once both in the Name of God the Father, and of God the Son; because he calls himself *Alpha* and *Omega*, and yet declares he was once *dead*. And yet, Chapter iii. 14 this same Angel speaks only in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, saying, *These Things saith the Amen, the faithful and true Witness,* THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD: Which is the Character given by St. *Paul* of *Jesus Christ*, who styles

[2] Rev. i. 17.

him

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him [3] *the First-born of the whole Creation.*

LXXI. However, towards the Close of the whole Revelation, St. John says, [4] *I John saw these Things and heard them, and when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the Feet of the Angel which shewed me these Things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the Sayings of this Book: Worship God. And he saith unto me, Seal not the Sayings of the Prophecy of this Book; for the Time is at Hand.—And behold I come quickly; and my Reward is with me, to give to every Man according as his Works shall be. I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End; the First and the Last.—I Jesus have sent mine Angel to testify unto you these Things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, and the bright and the Morning-Star.*

[3] Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, *i. e.* The First-born of the whole Creation; and not, as we translate it, *the First-born of every Creature*, Col. i. 15. [4] Rev. xxii. 8, &c.

LXXII. Where it is manifest, that this *Angel* who had refused Worship and Adoration, and had declared himself to be a created Being, the Fellow-Servant of *John*, and of his Brethren the Prophets ; yet because he was sent by *Jesus* to testify that Revelation, [5] which was given unto *Jesus* by *God*, he therefore speaks indifferently in the first Person, *I*, either when he speaks in his own Person, in the Person of *Jesus*, or in the Person of *God* the Father. So that it should seem no extraordinary Thing to find that exalted *Angel* whom *God* had proclaimed *Jehovah*, speaking also in the first Person, and saying, *I am that am*, or, I am the God of *Abraham*, or the God of *Bethel*, &c.

LXXIII. This however is manifest from The whole taken together, that the *Jews* had great Foundation in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for their Opinion of a Δεύτερος Θεός, a Second or Secondary God, that is, one who acted by a deputed Power from the Supreme God ; which *Philo* calls

[5] Rev. i. 1.

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the Archangel with many Names: For it appears he was therein called, The great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel; The Word of God; The Wisdom of God; The Similitude, or Image, of God; and Jehovah, or the Name of God.

LXXIV. Now then let us see what Foundation there is in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for the Opinion of a third Person, whom the *Jews ἀποθεάζουσιν, paid divine Honours to.* And here it may be observed, that it hath been already shew-
ed, that two of the Angels, which appear-
ed to *Abraham* in the Similitude of Men,
were each called by the Name of *Jeho-
vab*: [6] For as the one which remained
conversing with *Abraham*, while the other
two went towards *Sodom*, was called *Jeho-
vab*, so also is one of the two Angels which
went to destroy *Sodom*, called *Jehovab* also:
For, says *Moses*, *JEHOVAH rained upon So-
dom and Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire
from JEHOVAH out of Heaven.*

[6] See Sect. LVI.



LXXV. It

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LXXV. It is likewise to be observed, that in the Prophecy of [7] *Zechariah*, that Prophet, in declaring a Vision which he had seen of a Candlestick, with two Olive-Trees by it, says, that an *Angel* talked with him, and *Zechariah* said unto him, *What be these two Olive-Trees upon the Right Side of the Candlestick and upon the Left Side thereof? And I answered again and said unto him, What be these two Olive-Branches, which through the golden Pipes, empty the golden Oil out of themselves? And he answered me, and said, These are the TWO ANOINTED ONES, THAT STAND by the Lord of the whole Earth.*

LXXVI. Now it is manifest, that that Angel, whose *Portion* is Israel, is by the Prophet *Isaiab* called the Angel of God's Presence. For, says that Prophet, [8] *I will mention the loving Kindness of JEHOVAH, and his great Goodness towards the House of Israel. — In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, and the ANGEL OF HIS PRESENCE saved them.* And as this An-

[7] *Zechariah*. iv. 1, &c.

[8] *Isai*. lxiii. 7, 9.

gel,

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gel, or *great Prince*, which standeth for the Children of Israel, is by that Prophet *Daniel* distinguished by the Name of *Michael*; so it may be further proper to take Notice, that there is another Angel named by a particular Name in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, who is called [9] *Gabriel*; which *Gabriel*, according to St. [1] *Luke*, called himself also *the Angel that standeth in the Presence of God*. So that here are plainly two Angels, one of which, for Distinction-sake, is called *Michael*, and the other *Gabriel*, which are described as standing in the Presence of God, or, as *Zechariab* expresseth it, *which stand by the Lord of the whole Earth*. As a Type of which, according to [2] *Philo Judæus*, it was, that, at the Building of the Tabernacle, God directed only two *Cberubim* to be placed over the *Mercy-Seat* in the *Holy of Holies*.

LXXVII. And as it appears, that the Archangel *Michael* is that Person who is called the *Second Essence* by the *Jews*, so, upon Inquiry, we shall find that the Angel *Ga-*

[9] As *Michael* signifies the *Similitude of God*, so *Gabriel* signifies, the *Strength*, or *Power of God*. [1] *Luke* i. 19.

[2] *Phil. Vit. Mosis*, lib. iii. p. 669. Edit. Franc. 1691.

riel

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briel has a very good Title towards being considered as that *Third Essence*, or Being, to which the *Jews* paid divine Honours. For the Opinion of the *Jews*, with regard to this Third Being, was, [3] that “ after
 “ the Second Essence comes the *Holy Spirit*
 “ which they place in this Royal Dignity,
 “ and Degree of Principality, because it is
 “ the Will of the great Architect to ap-
 “ point him to the Principality of those in-
 “ ferior Beings, who may want his Assist-
 “ ance. Who therefore, obtaining the third
 “ Place, confers on those, who are inferior
 “ to him, those excellent Virtues which he
 “ himself received from another, to wit,
 “ from the divine *Logos*, his Better and Su-
 “ perior, whom we before said was the Se-
 “ cond to the supreme, unbegotten, and al-
 “ mighty God.” So says *Eusebius*, “ All
 “ the *Hebrew* Divines, after that God,
 “ who is over all, and after this first-born
 “ Wisdom, pay divine Worship to the third
 “ and holy Power, which they call the
 “ Holy Spirit, by which they themselves
 “ are illuminated when they are divinely
 “ inspired.”

[3] *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

LXXVIII.

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LXXVIII. Now it is manifest, that the Angel *Gabriel* was employed in the Administration of this Office, that is, in the illuminating of those who were divinely inspired; which the Prophet *Zechariah* metaphorically expresseth, by *emptying through golden Pipes, the golden Oil out of themselves*. Since it was undoubtedly for this Purpose that *Gabriel* was sent to the Prophet [4] *Daniel*, to *make him understand the Vision*: And to *give him Skill and Understanding*. And therefore, it is probable, that this Angel *Gabriel* was that *holy Spirit* who was employed by God in illuminating the rest of the Prophets of Old, and who is so often mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, under the Name of *the holy Spirit*, the *Spirit of God*, or the *Spirit of Jehovah*. For thus the Prophet [5] *Nehemiah* positively saith, that *Jehovah* testified against the Wicked by *his Spirit in his Prophets*. And the Prophet [6] *Zechariah* saith, *They made their Hearts as an Adamant Stone, lest they should hear the Law, and the Words which the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS HATH SENT BY HIS SPIRIT in the former Prophets*.

[4] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21, 22.

[6] Zech. vii. 12.

[5] Neh. ix. 63.

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LXXIX. Which Words plainly prove this Spirit to have been an intelligent Agent, separate and distinct from God, because he was *sent* by him. For though Men may be said to be inspired, or actuated, by the Spirit of God, when God is pleased to inspire or influence them by virtue of his own almighty Power, without deputing any other Spirit to do it: Yet it is manifest that God cannot *send* himself; because those Terms imply a Contradiction. And therefore the Prophet *Isaiab* is said to have been *sent* both by God and his Spirit. For, says he, [7] *And now Jehovah God, and his Spirit hath sent me.* And in the Books of [8] *Judges* and *Samuel*, it is not said, that it was *Jehovah*, but the *Spirit of Jehovah*, which came upon Othoniel, and Gideon, and Jeptha, and Sampson, and Saul, and David, to assist them in the Government of *Israel*, and the Execution of their Office. And the holy [9] *David*, in the penitential Psalm, which he composed on his Transgression with *Bathsheba*,

[7] *Isai* xlvi. 16. [8] See *Judg.* iii. 10. vi. 34. xi. 29. xiii. 25. 1 *Sam.* x. 6. xvi. 13. [9] *Psal.* li. 11, 12, 13.

begs

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begs of Almighty God, *not to take his HOLY SPIRIT from him ; but, says he, restore me unto the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy FREE SPIRIT.*

LXXX. And therefore this holy Spirit is sometimes said to enter into Men when it inspired them. For thus the Prophet *Ezekiel* declares, that the Spirit [1] *entered into him when it spake unto him.* And the Prophet *Isaiab*, speaking of *Moses*, saith, that [2] *God put his holy Spirit within him.* Which likewise shews this *Spirit* to have been a separate intelligent Agent, distinct from God himself, because it is said, that it was God who PUT *this holy Spirit within him.*

LXXXI. And as it pleased God that this *holy Spirit* should sometimes manifest its Abode in particular People by some outward and visible Token for the Sake of the By-Standers, that they might be obedient unto those Persons upon whom it abode ; therefore it is, in the Language of the holy Scriptures, sometimes said to *rest upon* those

[1] Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24. [2] Isai. vi. 3.

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on whom it was conferred. Thus, when God ordered *Moses* to appoint Seventy Elders, who should assist him in the Distribution of Justice, it is said, that [3] *Jehovah came down in a Cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the Spirit that was UPON HIM, and gave it to the Seventy Elders; and it came to pass, that when THE SPIRIT RESTED UPON THEM, they prophesied and did not cease.*

LXXXII. Now it is observed of *Moses*, that, when he came the last Time down from Mount *Sinai*, [4] *the Skin of his Face shone*, so that the People were afraid to come nigh him. It is therefore probable, that this Manifestation of the *Spirit* which was conferred on *Moses*, and from him divided among the Seventy Elders, was a kind of lucid shining Appearance which rested upon them as an outward and visible Token of the inward Assistance and Illumination of the *Holy Spirit*. And therefore God also commanded *Moses*, when he appointed *Joshua* for his Successor, to [5] *take*

[3] Numb. xi. 16, 25.

[4] Exod. xxxiv. 29.

[5] Numb. xxvii. 20.

Joshua

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Joshua the Son of Nun, and, says he, *thou shalt lay some of thine Honour UPON HIM, that all the Congregation of the Children of Israel may be obedient*: In like Manner, when *Elisha* was appointed Successor to *Elijah*, it is said, *the Spirit of Elijah*, or the Spirit which was on *Elijah*, doth REST ON *Elisha*. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves before him.

LXXXIII. But when this *Holy Spirit* was pleased to make its Appearance, either in the Figure and Form of an Angel or Man, the *Jews* then *Ἀποθεαίζοντο*, paid divine Honours to it: As *Daniel* did to the Angel [6] *Gabriel*, when it appeared unto him in the Form of a Man; for, saith he, [7] *I was afraid, and fell upon my Face*: As *Ezekiel* also did to the [8] *Holy Spirit*, when it appeared unto him in [9] *the Likeness of the Glory of Jehovah*; for, says he, *When* [1] *I saw it, I fell upon my Face*. Which was the usual Method of Prostration both with [2]

[6] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. [7] Dan viii. 17. [8] Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24. [9] Ezek. i. 28. [1] Ezek. i. 28. iii. 3. xliii. 3, 4. xlv. 4. [2] Ezek. ix. 8. xi. 13.

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him, and all the ancient [3] Prophets and Patriarchs, whenever they had any earnest Request to make to Almighty God; or when they apprehended that an Angel sent from God was speaking to them.

LXXXIV. And indeed it seems but reasonable, that, beside the Respect which is due to this *Holy Spirit* on account of the Excellency of its own Nature, there should be a further Degree of Reverence and Regard paid unto him, in proportion to the Degree of Power or Authority over us, which is committed unto him from God: Since it is but just that whatever Degree of Superiority the Almighty is pleased to give to any one Being over others, there should be a suitable Degree of Submission and Obedience paid to that Being, in proportion to the Extent of Authority delegated from God.

LXXXV. Not that Angels, as Angels, have any Right to divine Worship or Adoration upon their own Account; and there-

[3] Gen. xvii. 3. Numb. xvi. 22. xxii. 31. Josh. v. 14. See also Matt. xxvi. 39. Mark xiv. 35. Though he first kneeled down, Luke xxii. 41.

fore

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fore all [4] *voluntary Humility and Worship-
ing of Angels*, even the highest, out of
our own Head, or without a Commission
from God for so doing, would be Idolatry :
which was the Reason why that Angel who
was sent from God to shew the Revelation
to St. *John*, reprimanding the Apostle, when
he [5] *fell down to WORSHIP before the
Feet of the Angel which shewed him these
Things*, saying, *See thou do it not. —
Worship God.* Because St. *John* seems to
have paid this *Worship* to the Angel on his
own Account, without any Regard to the
Authority by which he was sent; which
would have been Idolatry. But when Angels
are commissioned from God, with any Degree
of Power over us, and are sent in his Name ;
then it cannot be Idolatry, to pay them such
a Degree of Adoration, as is proportionate to
the Authority with which they are invest-
ed: Because such Adoration or Worship,
not being paid them on their own Account,
but on account of the Authority which hath

[4] Col. ii. 18. — Whether our Translation is strictly
just, I will not say ; but sure I am, that it corresponds to
the Meaning of the Apostle. However *Grotius* may be con-
sulted by any one who wants further Satisfaction.

[5] Rev. xxii. 8.

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been delegated unto them, terminates in the one only and supreme God. See Sect. CXIII, CXIV.

LXXXVI. Which Method of Reasoning may be pursued from the highest Degree of Worship, payable to the most perfect Being next to God, acting with the highest Authority which God is pleased to communicate or delegate, down to the lowest Degree of Deference or Respect, which, Reason instructs us, is proper to pay to some of our own Fellow-Creatures, for the Preservation of a due Subordination in Society : Since in this Sense it is, that [6] *not only the Powers which be, are ordained of God*; but also that those Prophets and Judges of *Israel* [7] *to whom the Word of God came, are called Gods*; because they spoke by his Authority, and acted in his Stead.

LXXXVII. Which Doctrine of the *Jews* with regard to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, seems therefore not only to be supported by the Doc-

[6] Rom. xiii. 1. [7] See Exod. xxii. 18. Pf. lxxxii. 1, 2, 6. John x. 34, 35.

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trine of the Old Testament, but also reconcilable to Reason ; since, if we do but reflect on the immense Distance there is between the imperfect State of human Beings, and the infinite Perfection of Almighty God, we cannot but think that God should chuse to govern this Universe by a gradual Subordination of Beings, one superior to another ; rather than to be the sole Director or Governor of every the most minute Affair : Not that such a Government would be troublesome to God, or that he would be unable to perform it, or that God can possibly divest himself of the supreme Authority, universal Inspection, and general Superintendency even of the minutest Transaction in the whole Creation : But because it seems more consistent with the divine Goodness and Wisdom, to employ the various Works of his Hands, in the Exercise of those Powers and Faculties with which he hath endowed them ; rather than personally and immediately to interpose in the Conduct of those Transactions, for which he hath created Numbers of Beings furnished with Abilities sufficient to perform them.

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LXXXVIII. It is likewise reasonable to believe that the same Method of Government, which God hath ordained in this sublunary Globe, is carried on by a Kind of *Analogy* through the whole Creation. And that as the great Creator hath been pleased to constitute this World in such a Manner, as to require the Authority of some Persons presiding over others, in Families, in Towns, in Cities, in Provinces, in Kingdoms, in Empires; so probably in the great Expanse of Spirits, there are Degrees of Superiority analogous to these sublunary Dispositions; which we have no better Method of expressing, than by calling them in Allusion to the Things which we do know [8] *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers.*

LXXXIX. And as this Doctrine is reconcilable with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the Sentiments of the *Jewish* Divines, and with Reason; so is it also with the Scriptures of the New Testament. For, says St. Paul, [9] *Though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or Earth,*

[8] Col. i. 16.

[9] 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

(for

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(for there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him. That is, there is but one supreme God, in comparison of whom there is [1] none other but he; and with regard to whom Jesus the Christ is only to be called Lord and not God: The Father having given him a Name that is above every other Name, that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is LORD to the Glory of God the Father. Phil. ii. 9, 11.

XC. Which God the Father, as he is described by *Moses*, under the Character of that God, [2] *whose Face cannot be seen; for no Man can see him and live; so also St. Paul* characterises him as that God, who is [3] *the blessed and ONLY Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, WHO ONLY hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no Man can approach unto, WHOM NO MAN HATH OR CAN SEE.* And St. *John* says, [4] *No Man hath seen*

[1] Mark xii. 32. [2] Exod. xxxiii. 20, 23. [3] 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. [4] John i. 18. vi. 46, 1 John iv. 12.

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God at any Time. Which one, only, *invisible* God cannot therefore possibly be the same with that God who [5] *was manifested in the Flesh.*

XCI. Whence it appears, that here is a Distinction made by the Apostles between the Divinity of God the Father and of God the Son : And that although the Term of *God*, as when we say, There are Gods many, may be attributed to the Son, yet that, strictly speaking, as when we say, There is but one God, this Appellation is only to be attributed to God the Father ; and accordingly the *Nicene Creed*, as all the ancient Creeds did, begins with saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, &c.* And the Reason assigned for this Distinction by St. *Paul* is, because God the Father is alone to be considered as *the* [6] *first Cause* ; for, says he, *there is one God the Father, OF WHOM ARE ALL THINGS* : And therefore God the Father is by the Son himself styled [7] *the only true God.* For, says he, when speaking of the Father, *This is eternal Life, that*

[5] 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[6] See Sect. iii.

[7] John xvii. 3.

they

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they may know THEE THE ONLY AND TRUE GOD, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

XCII. As therefore the first Self-existent Cause of whom are all Things, can alone be properly called God, when the Title of God is given in the Scriptures to any other Being but the Father, we are to understand this, only as expressive of some God-like Power, which hath been given or communicated to that Being by God the Father. And accordingly *Jehovah* said unto *Moses*, when he sent him to *Pharaoh*, and communicated to him the Power of working Miracles, [8] *Thou shalt be to him instead of God*: Which he thus expresseth in another Place, [9] *See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh*. When all Power therefore in Heaven and Earth was given to the Son, he was made a God to those Beings over whom that Power was given, that is, over those Beings which inhabit this Heaven and this Earth, and over those only, since it is manifest at the same Time, that he must be excepted who did give this Power unto

[8] *Exod. iv. 16.*

[9] *Exod. xvii. 1.*

him ;

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him; and therefore St. Paul positively declares, when speaking of the Son, that [1] *when it is said, All Things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him: and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then, says he, shall the Son also, that is, even in his highest State of exalted Glory, be subject unto him that did put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

XCIII. And as that secondary Essence among the *Jews* whose Portion was *Israel*, was by them called *the Word* and *the Wisdom* of God: So it is undoubted that these Appellations were from thence transferred, by the Apostles of *Christ* who were born and bred *Jews*, into the Christian Religion, and applied by them to *Jesus* the *Christ*, who is in the Scriptures of the New Testament called [2] *the Word* and *the Wisdom* of God.

XCIV. And as that secondary Essence was by the *Jews* called *the Image of God*, so is the Lord *Jesus Christ* called in the

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. [2] John i. 1, 14. 1 Cor. i. 24.

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Language of the New Testament, [3] *the Image of the invifible God*: That is, the vifible Image, or delegated Representative in Power of the invifible God. For that this is the fcriptural Meaning of the Word *Image*, when applied to the Image of an invifible Being, feems plain from many Paffages, but in particular from that wherein it is faid, that Man was created [4] *in the Image of God*: Because as foon as God's is represented by *Mofes* as having faid, *Let us make Man in our Image after our Likeneſs*: Then immediately follows, *and let him have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea; and over the Fowls of the Air, &c.* And therefore the *Arabic* Version of the Bible renders this laſt Sentence to this Purpoſe, that *by the Image which God enabled, he created him to have Dominion*. And the wife Son of *Sirach* obſerves, that [5] *the Lord created Men, and endued them with Strength, by themſelves, and made them according to his Image; and put the Fear of Man upon all Fleſh, and gave him Dominion over Beaſts and Fowls*. And that this Word, *Εἰκὼν* Image, when applied to

[3] Col. i. 15. [4] Gen. i. 26, 27. [5] Eccleſ. xvii. 1, 3, 4.

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Persons, was generally understood to denote the one as being the Deputy or Representative of the other, in Power and Dominion, is plain from an Expression in *Basil* upon this very Subject. Where he manifestly useth this Word to signify a Viceroy: When, in Answer to this Objection, *But how then, if there are two distinct Persons (in the Godhead) do we not make two Gods?* To which he answers, [6] *Why just as a King, and the Deputy of a King, do not make two Kings.*

XCV. And as the *Jews* supposed their *Logos* to be the same Person with that [7] *Angel of God's Presence*, who is represented in the Old Testament, as being the Guardian Angel of the Children of *Israel*, so also do the Scriptures of the New Testament suppose their *Logos*, or the Lord Jesus Christ to be that very Angel, who brought Redemption to *Israel*; and therefore St. *Paul*, speaking of the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from their *Egyptian* [8] Bondage,

[6] Ὅτι βασιλεὺς λέγεσθαι καὶ ἡ τῷ βασιλεὺς ἰκάνη, καὶ ἔστι βασιλεὺς. *Basil De Spir. Sanc.* c. xviii.

[7] Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. xxviii. 2. Numb. xx. 16.

[8] 1 Cor. x. 1—9.

faith,

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faith, *Moreover, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the Cloud, and in the Sea; and did all eat the same spiritual Meat; and did all drink the same spiritual Drink: For they drank of that same spiritual Rock that followed them, AND THAT ROCK WAS CHRIST.* He also saith, that by their Misconduct in the Wilderness, *they tempted Christ, and were therefore destroyed of Serpents.* And in his Epistle to the [9] *Hebrews*, he attributes the Perseverance of *Moses* in quitting *Pharaoh's* Court, in obedience to the Commands of the *Jehovah*-Angel, and refusing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, to his esteeming *the Reproach of Christ*, i.e. the [1] *Reproach of the Egyptians* for *Christ's* Sake, *greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt.*

XCVI. And as the *Jews* held their *Logos* to have been in the Beginning with God; and to be *δεύτερον θεόν*, a second God:

[9] Heb. xi. 26. [1] This Method of speaking was very customary among the *Hebrews*. See Psal. lxxxix. 50. Gal. vi. 17. 1 Pet. iv. 13.

So

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So also do the Scriptures of the New Testament acknowledge their *Logos*, or the Lord Jesus, to be called [1] *Emmanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us*. He is therefore frequently, in the Language of the New Testament, spoken of as such. Thus *John* the Evangelist positively says, that [2] *the Word was God*. And *St. Paul* calls him, [3] *God manifested in the Flesh*. And *St. Thomas*, when speaking to him, fully and positively calleth him, [4] *my Lord and my God*.

XCVII. But then these Scriptures are in other Places very expressive, with regard to the Superiority of God the Father, over God the Son: Thus *St. Peter*, in that Speech which he makes to the *Jews*, *Acts* ii. 33. where he is applying a Passage, out of the cxth *Psalms*, to our Saviour, says, *For David is not ascended into the Heavens: But he saith himself*, “The Lord
“said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my
“Right Hand, until I make thine Enemies thy Footstool.” Therefore, says *St. Peter*, *let all the House of Israel know*

[1] *Matth.* i. 23. [2] *John* i. 1. [3] *1 Tim.* iii. 16.
[4] *John* xx. 28.

assuredly,

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assuredly, that God hath MADE that same Jesus whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ. Which shews that the Son could not have been from all Eternity co-equal to the Father, since the Father could not have made him either Lord or Christ, if he had no Superiority over him. And accordingly, St. Paul applies that Text of Scripture to Jesus Christ, which David maketh use of in the Psalms, when he saith, [6] Thy Throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever; a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom: Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity; therefore God, EVEN THY GOD, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows. In which Passage, though Christ is undoubtedly called God, yet the Superiority of God the Father over this God, is manifestly preserved; because he is called even his God. And the Lord Jesus Christ, when he was departing out of this Life, not only [7] offered up Prayers and Supplications unto the Father, as unto him that was able to save him from Death; but also [8] cried with a loud Voice, saying, MY GOD, MY GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?

[6] Heb. i. 8. [7] Heb. v. 7. [8] Matth. xxvii. 46.

XCVIII.

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that in order to invalidate this Argument, it is said, that this last Expression was spoken only in regard to his human Nature, with respect to which he was undoubtedly inferior to God the Father; but in answer to this, it is to be observed, that in the first Passage here alluded to in the cxth Psalm, our Saviour is there called *Lord*, and yet *Jehovah* is said by St. *Peter*, to have made him both *Lord* and *Christ*. And in the second Passage here quoted, the Psalmist speaks of him as *God*, yet at the same Time declares God the Father to be his God. And the same Method of speaking is continued in the Scriptures, not only while he was here in this World, subject to Mortality; but after he had overcome Death, and the Grave, even after his Resurrection; at which Time, he also acknowledges God the Father to be his God: For when *Mary* would have approached unto him, he said, [9] *Touch me not*, or, do not stay to touch or mind me at present, *for I am not yet ascended unto my Father; but go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my*

[9] John xx. 17.

Father,

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Father, and your Father, UNTO MY GOD, AND YOUR GOD. And the Apostle *Paul*, in speaking of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, even after his Ascension, after his Exaltation, after he had been seated [1] *at the Right Hand of God, far above all Principality, and Power, and Might, and Dominion*, speaks of God the Father, as still being *his God*. For says he, [2] *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. And again, he saith to the *Ephesians*, *Wherefore*, I cease not to give Thanks for you, that *the God of our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wisdom. And in the Revelation of St. *John*, the Apostle speaking of *Jesus*, saith, [3] *who hath made us Kings and Priests* TO HIS GOD AND FATHER.

XCIX. And indeed the whole Conduct and Behaviour and Doctrine of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, while he was in this World, was correspondent thereto; for he not only speaks of the Superiority of God the Father in general Words, as when he says, in express Terms, [4] *the Father is greater*

[1] Eph. i. 20, 21. [2] Eph. i. 3. [3] 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th 14th 15th 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th 21st 22nd 23rd 24th 25th 26th 27th 28th 29th 30th 31st 32nd 33rd 34th 35th 36th 37th 38th 39th 40th 41st 42nd 43rd 44th 45th 46th 47th 48th 49th 50th 51st 52nd 53rd 54th 55th 56th 57th 58th 59th 60th 61st 62nd 63rd 64th 65th 66th 67th 68th 69th 70th 71st 72nd 73rd 74th 75th 76th 77th 78th 79th 80th 81st 82nd 83rd 84th 85th 86th 87th 88th 89th 90th 91st 92nd 93rd 94th 95th 96th 97th 98th 99th 100th 101st 102nd 103rd 104th 105th 106th 107th 108th 109th 110th 111st 112nd 113rd 114th 115th 116th 117th 118th 119th 120th 121st 122nd 123rd 124th 125th 126th 127th 128th 129th 130th 131st 132nd 133rd 134th 135th 136th 137th 138th 139th 140th 141st 142nd 143rd 144th 145th 146th 147th 148th 149th 150th 151st 152nd 153rd 154th 155th 156th 157th 158th 159th 160th 161st 162nd 163rd 164th 165th 166th 167th 168th 169th 170th 171st 172nd 173rd 174th 175th 176th 177th 178th 179th 180th 181st 182nd 183rd 184th 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683rd 684th 685th 686th 687th 688th 689th 690th 691st 692nd 693rd 694th 695th 696th 697th 698th 699th 700th 701st 702nd 703rd 704th 705th 706th 707th 708th 709th 710th 711st 712nd 713rd 714th 715th 716th 717th 718th 719th 720th 721st 722nd 723rd 724th 725th 726th 727th 728th 729th 730th 731st 732nd 733rd 734th 735th 736th 737th 738th 739th 740th 741st 742nd 743rd 744th 745th 746th 747th 748th 749th 750th 751st 752nd 753rd 754th 755th 756th 757th 758th 759th 760th 761st 762nd 763rd 764th 765th 766th 767th 768th 769th 770th 771st 772nd 773rd 774th 775th 776th 777th 778th 779th 780th 781st 782nd 783rd 784th 785th 786th 787th 788th 789th 790th 791st 792nd 793rd 794th 795th 796th 797th 798th 799th 800th 801st 802nd 803rd 804th 805th 806th 807th 808th 809th 810th 811st 812nd 813rd 814th 815th 816th 817th 818th 819th 820th 821st 822nd 823rd 824th 825th 826th 827th 828th 829th 830th 831st 832nd 833rd 834th 835th 836th 837th 838th 839th 840th 841st 842nd 843rd 844th 845th 846th 847th 848th 849th 850th 851st 852nd 853rd 854th 855th 856th 857th 858th 859th 860th 861st 862nd 863rd 864th 865th 866th 867th 868th 869th 870th 871st 872nd 873rd 874th 875th 876th 877th 878th 879th 880th 881st 882nd 883rd 884th 885th 886th 887th 888th 889th 890th 891st 892nd 893rd 894th 895th 896th 897th 898th 899th 900th 901st 902nd 903rd 904th 905th 906th 907th 908th 909th 910th 911st 912nd 913rd 914th 915th 916th 917th 918th 919th 920th 921st 922nd 923rd 924th 925th 926th 927th 928th 929th 930th 931st 932nd 933rd 934th 935th 936th 937th 938th 939th 940th 941st 942nd 943rd 944th 945th 946th 947th 948th 949th 950th 951st 952nd 953rd 954th 955th 956th 957th 958th 959th 960th 961st 962nd 963rd 964th 965th 966th 967th 968th 969th 970th 971st 972nd 973rd 974th 975th 976th 977th 978th 979th 980th 981st 982nd 983rd 984th 985th 986th 987th 988th 989th 990th 991st 992nd 993rd 994th 995th 996th 997th 998th 999th 1000th

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than I; and again, the Father is greater than all: But acknowledges that his whole Conduct, not only while he was in this World, but before he came into it, before he had taken human Nature upon himself, was in Submission to the Will and Commands of God. For he acknowledges, in numberless Places, that it was the Father who sent him, and gave him a Commandment what to do. [5] For, says he, I must work the Work of him that SENT me; and again he says, The Father which SENT me, he GAVE ME A COMMANDMENT, what I should say, and what I should speak. And again, As the Father GAVE ME COMMANDMENT, so do I. We may therefore fairly argue, as our Saviour himself does upon another Occasion, that [6] as the Servant is not equal to his Lord, neither is he that is sent equal to him that sent him. He therefore also acknowledged, that all the Power he was possessed of, not only natural, but supernatural, was received from the Father, and was [7] given unto him. And this not only while he was upon Earth,

[5] John ix. 4. xii. 49. xiv. 31, &c. &c. [6] John xiii. 16. [7] John v. 26. xvii. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, &c. &c.

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while he was clogged and fettered with the Shackles of Mortality : But even after his Resurrection, and Ascension, and Exaltation, he declares, that all the Power which he had in Heaven and Earth, was [8] *given unto him* of the Father. And some Years after that, St. Paul, in his Epistle to the [9] *Corinthians*, saith, *But I would have you know, that the Head of every Man is Christ; and the Head of the Woman is the Man; and the HEAD OF CHRIST IS GOD.* N
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C. And as *Moses* was commanded by God to obey the Voice of the *Angel*, which he sent to keep him in the Way; and to provoke him not, because *his Name was in him*; so the Lord *Jesus Christ* declares, that the Honour which is due unto him is on the Father's Account; that is, because he was sent from the Father: For, says he, [1] *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son, that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.* And then he adds the Reason, *For, he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.*

[8] Matth. xxviii. 18. [9] 1 Cor. xi. 3. [1] John v. 22, 23.

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CI. It is likewise very remarkable, that in this Place, as well as in *Exodus* xxiii. 21, where God ordereth *Moses* and the *Israelites* to obey the Angel which was sent in his Name, the Incitement offered for honouring the one, as well as obeying the other, is the Power of Judgment, that was committed unto them. For, says God to *Moses*, *Beware of him, obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions.* And in the New Testament, our Saviour observes, that ALL JUDGMENT WAS COMMITTED TO THE SON; that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.

CII. It is a Remark made by Sir *Isaac Newton*, that the Worship which is due from Man to God, is on account of the Dominion he hath over him. For, says he, “ [3] God is a relative Term, which “ has Reference to Subjects, and the Word “ Deity, denotes the Dominion of God, “ not over his own Body, (as the ancient “ Philosophers imagined, who called God

[3] *Newt. Prin. Schol. gener.*

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“ the Soul of the World) but over Subjects.” And again, he saith, “ We arrive at the “ Knowledge of God, by considering his “ Properties and Attributes; by inquiring “ into the wise Formation and Constitution “ of all Things; and searching into their “ final Causes; but we worship and adore him “ on account of his Dominion.” So that the Son becometh our God, not so much on account of his having been employed in our Creation, and *that by him God created the Worlds*, as because *all Judgment is committed unto him*, this being the great *Obligation* of all Duty: There being no Reason for Men to lay themselves under any Restraint, in obeying or disobeying the Commands of any Being, which hath no Power over them.

CIII. Now the Reason why Almighty God was pleased to commit this Power of Judgment unto the Son, is also assigned; for, says our Lord Jesus, [4] *The Father hath given to the Son Authority to execute Judgment; because he is the Son of Man.* That is, as a Reward for having taken hu-

[4] John v. 26, 27.

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man Nature upon him. For, upon the Fall of Adam, this Son of God, being willing to undertake the Redemption of Mankind, [5] *he was* accordingly [6] ANOINTED of God for to do whatsoever his Hand and his Council predetermined to be done. That is, he was [7] *anointed* to do and to suffer, whatsoever it should please God for him to do or to suffer. And for an Encouragement in which Undertaking, God was pleased to propose to this his anointed Son, that on the Performance of such Things as God should appoint for him to do, he should be exalted to [8] *Joy and Glory*.

CIV. When therefore, in the Fulness of Time, it pleased God to send forth his Son, who being [9] *in the Form of God* nevertheless divested himself of that Glory which he had with the Father before the World was, and [1] *came down from Heaven, not*

[5] Acts iv. 27, 28. [6] Hence called the *Messiah*, which literally signifies the *anointed*. [7] Or *appointed*. This Term of *anointing* being made use of, instead of *appointing*, in compliance with the human Custom of *anointing* Persons, when they were *appointed* to the Administration of particular Offices, such as either *King, Priest, or Prophet*. See 1 Sam. xiii. 1. 2 Sam. ii. 7. Exod. xxix. 7. Isai. lxi. 1. [8] Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 11. [9] Phil. ii. 6. [1] 1 John iv. 34. v. 30. vi. 38, 42.

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to do his own Will, but the Will of him that sent him; [2] The Spirit having testified beforehand the Sufferings of Christ, and the Glory that should follow; he therefore [3] for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame: [4] Wherefore God also hath highly EXALTED him, and [5] set him at his own Right-hand EXALTED, [6] and hath given him a Name that is above every Name, that [7] IN THE NAME OF JESUS every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is LORD to the Glory of God the Father.

CV. Wherefore Jesus having [8] finished the Work which his Father gave him to do, and manifested his Name unto Men, that they might know God the Father the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; and having persisted therein unto Death, [9] that he might reconcile both Jews and Gentiles unto God in one Body by

[2] 1 Pet. i. 11. [3] Heb. xii. 2. [4] Phil. ii. 9.
 [5] Acts ii. 33. Eph. i. 20, &c. [6] Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.
 [7] 'Εν τῷ ὀνόματι. [8] John xvii. 4. vi. 3. [9] Eph. ii. 16.

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the Cross: And having been [1] *for the Suffering of Death crowned with Glory and Honour*; instead of the Portion of *Israel*, which had been before the Line or Boundary of his Inheritance; he had now [2] *Power given him over all Flesh*. And [3] *all Nations* were made of one Blood under him, and *the Bounds of their Habitations* were brought within the Line of his Inheritance: And [4] *there was given unto him Dominion and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations, and Languages should serve him*.

CVI. From this Time forth, therefore, his Disciples were sent unto [5] *all Nations*, to [6] *preach the Gospel unto every Creature*. And what is remarkable is, that, from this Time, the same *Holy Spirit*, which under the *Mosaical Dispensation* [7] spake by the Prophets, and had only illuminated the Minds of those of the *Sons of Israel*, to whom the *Word of God came*, was, through the Intercession of *Jesus Christ*, conferred

[1] Heb. ii. 9. [2] John xvii. 2. [3] Acts xvii. 26. [4] Dan. vii. 14. [5] Matt. xxviii. 10. [6] Mark xvi. 15. [7] 2 Pet. i. 21. and Nicene Creed.

upon

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upon all Mankind that believe on him; of what Nation soever they be, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*; and shed forth his benign Influence on all those who come to God through *Jesus Christ*: That [8] *through him both Jews and Gentiles may have an Access by one Spirit unto the Father*. That [9] *the Blessing of Abraham*, wherein it was promised, that in his Seed should all the Nations of the Earth be blessed, *might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that they might receive the Promise of the Spirit through Faith*: And that [1] *all might be baptized into one Body, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, whether they be bond or free, and might all be made to drink into one Spirit*.

CVII. When therefore *Jesus Christ the Lord* was raised from the Dead, and formally invested in the Possession of that Kingdom which ~~the~~ *the Father had appointed unto him*; having received from the Father the Promise of the Holy Spirit, he shed forth this Holy Spirit [3] *abundantly*, as well upon the [4] *Gentiles* as the *Jews*,

[8] Eph. ii. 18. [9] Gal. iii. 14. [1] 1 Cor. xii. 13.
[2] Luke xxii. 29. [3] Tit. iii. 6. [4] Acts xi. 15.

putting

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putting no Difference between them. Which Holy Spirit is sometimes, in the Language of the Scriptures of the New Testament, called *the Spirit of God* the Father, because he [5] proceedeth from the Father who sent him unto us; and sometimes *the Spirit of the Son*, or *the Spirit of Christ*, because it was by the Intercession of *Jesus the Christ* that the Supply of this Holy Spirit was sent unto us; and is also called [6] *the Spirit of Truth*, because it was sent to guide Mankind into all Truth.

CVIII. Now St. John plainly calleth that Holy Spirit, by which he was inspired with the Book of Revelations, an *Angel*. For his Words are these, [7] *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by HIS ANGEL unto his Servant John*. And yet through this whole Book, he calls this Revelation, the Dictates of the Spirit. [8] *He that bath Ears to hear*, says he, *let him hear what the SPIRIT saith unto the*

[5] John xv. 26. [6] John xvi. 13. xiv. 26. 1 John ii. 20, 27. [7] Rev. i. 1. [8] Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 19. iii. 6, 13, 22.

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Churches. And it is very remarkable, that although the Virgin Mary is positively said to have been [9] *found with Child of the Holy Spirit*; and to have conceived of the Holy Spirit; yet the Person sent to her from God upon this Occasion, calls himself *an Angel*, and in particular, [1] *the Angel Gabriel that standeth in the Presence of God*; who under the old Covenant had been sent to inspire [2] *Daniel* with Skill and Understanding.

CIX. Which [3] *Angel GABRIEL (being sent from God unto the Virgin Mary, The ANGEL, says St. Luke, came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among Women. Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call his Name Jesus. Then said Mary unto the ANGEL, How shall this be, seeing I know not a Man? And the ANGEL answered and said unto her, THE HOLY SPIRIT shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also*

[9] Matt. i. 18, 20. [1] Luke i. 19, 26. [2] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. [3] Luke i. 26.

that

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that holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God. And Mary said, Behold the Handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy Word.

CX. Which is all the Account we have of this Affair, but that after she returned from her Cousin *Elizabeth's*, where she had remained three Months, [5] *she was found to be with Child, before she and Joseph, to whom she was espoused, had come together; then Joseph her Husband being a [6] good-natured Man, and not willing to make her a public Example, was minded to put her away privately. But while he thought on these Things, behold THE ANGEL of the Lord appeared unto him in a Dream, saying, Joseph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy Wife: For that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit. Then Joseph, being raised from his Sleep, did as the ANGEL of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his Wife: And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son.*

[5] Matt. i. 18, 19, 20. [6] *Δίκαιος*. This Word is often used to signify a *good-natured* Person, in which Sense also the Word *justus* is frequently used in the *Latin* Tongue. And in this Sense this Word ought to be understood, Acts x. 22. 1 John i. 9.

CXI.

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CXI. The pre-existent Spirit of the *Logos* being therefore, by the wonderful Power and Will of God, conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin by the Ministration of the Holy Spirit, she conceived and brought forth *Jesus*: By which Union of that exalted Spirit with human Nature, the *Logos* became incarnate, and was made Man. Which *Logos* did, by this Piece of Condescension, so far *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν*, [7] *empty himself*, and divest himself of that Glory of his antecedent State, which he had with the Father, before the World was, that, Sin only excepted, he became liable and subject to all the Infirmities of our Nature. And therefore, during the Time of his Continuance here upon Earth, he is represented all along as being under the Guidance and Conduct of the *Holy Spirit*.

CXII. He is accordingly said to have been [8] *led up of the Spirit into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil*: And that when the [9] *Devil had ended his Temptation*, *Jesus returned in the Power of the*

[7] Phil. ii. 7. [8] Matth. iv. 1. [9] Luke iv. 13, 14.

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Spirit into Galilee. That afterwards, he [1] cast out Devils by the Spirit of God, which [2] descended upon him at his Baptism, in a [3] visible Manner, and abode upon him for some Time. He is therefore said to have been [4] anointed with the Holy Spirit, and with Power; And that when he was in an Agony praying with Vehemence to God, that, if possible, the Cup of his Afflictions might pass from him, [5] an Angel appeared unto him from Heaven, strengthening him; That it was through [6] the eternal Spirit, that he offered himself without Spot to God upon the Cross: That when he was in the Grave, he was [7] quickened by the Spirit, and [8] declared to be the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the Resurrection from the Dead,

[1] Matth. xii. 8. [2] John i. 22. [3] *i. e.* By the Descent of a lucid shining Appearance which alighted, and rested upon him, *ὡς καὶ περιπαρ, as a Dove.* Not that this alludes to the Form and Figure of the Appearance, as if it was in the Shape of a Dove; but to the Manner of its Descent, which descended and alighted upon our Saviour, as a Dove descends and lights upon any thing. See Sect. lxxxii. and *Whity* on Luke iii. 26. [4] Acts x. 38. See Note in Sect. ciii. [5] Luke xxii. 42, 43. [6] Heb. ix. 14. [7] 1 Pet. iii. 18. [8] Rom. iii. 4.

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CXHL. And indeed it does not appear, either in the Old or New Testament, that the *Logos* had any Power over the Holy Spirit, till after his Ascension, [9] when all Power was given unto him, both in Heaven and Earth. For, said Jesus to his Disciples, [1] *It is expedient for you, that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. For, [2] I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, [3] which proceedeth from the Father: Whom I will send to you from the Father. For, as St. John remarks, [4] the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified. He therefore after his Resurrection, commanded his Disciples [5] not to depart from Jerusalem, till after his Ascension, but to wait for the Promise of the Father. Which having [6] received of the Father, he shed it forth upon them. From which Time, this Spirit is indifferently called the Spirit of*

[9] Matth. xxviii. 18, 19.

[1] John xvi. 7.

[2] John xiv. 16.

[3] John xv. 26.

[4] John vii. 39.

[5] Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 4.

[6] Acts ii. 33.

God,

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God, and [7] *the Spirit of Christ*, or [8] *the Spirit of the Son*; because the Son had now obtained Power of the Father, to send him; not to the *Jews* only, but also to the *Gentiles*; that all Nations might be baptized, [9] *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*; [1] *that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit*. It seems therefore highly reasonable, that we should pay divine Homage to that Holy Spirit in proportion to the Degree of Power which hath been delegated to him, from the Almighty; and that it is our Duty to pray to him, for the Communication of those *sanctifying* Graces, which he hath received Power from God the Father, through the Son, to distribute to his Disciples. I do not say that we ought to pray to him for the Forgiveness of our Sins, because [2] *all Judgment* hath not been committed unto him: But as he was undoubtedly sent, to be our [3] *Comforter*, to *guide us into all Truth*, and to *help our Infirmities*, surely we ought to pray to him, to comfort us, and to grant

[7] Rom. viii. 9. [8] Gal. iv. 6. [9] Matth. xxviii. 19. [1] Rom. xv. 16. [2] See Sect. lxxxv, c, ci, cii. [3] John xiv. 26. John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 26.

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us his Assistance, that we may be [4] *led by him, and that we may, of the Spirit, reap Life everlasting.* And as the *Manifestation of the Spirit was given to every Man to profit withal*; and as to one is given by the Spirit the *Word of Wisdom, and to another, the Word of Knowledge, by the same Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he will*; surely it is but reasonable, that we should apply to that Holy Spirit, who [5] *searcheth in our Hearts the deep Things of God, to confer such a Portion of his Influence on our Minds, as may by Degrees [6] quicken and strengthen us, till we shall be at length filled therewith.* Lest also on the other hand, by neglecting so manifest a Duty, we should thereby [7] *grieve and do such despite to the Spirit of Grace, as entirely to quench it.* See Sect. lxxxiv, lxxxv.

CXIV. I apprehend therefore, it is manifestly shewed in these Papers, that, from the Consideration of the Nature of Spirit, by the Light of Reason, it appears, there can be but one God, that is, one supreme

[4] Rom. viii. 14. Eph. vi. 8. 1 Cor. xii. 7. &c.

[5] 1 Cor. ii. 10. [6] 1 Pet. iii. 18. Eph. iii. 16. v. 8.

[7] Eph. iv. 3. Heb. x. 29. 1 Theff. v. 9.

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intelligent Agent; which one God may, however, create an infinite Series of spiritual Agents, in Subordination one to another; some of which may, by an Authority communicated to them, from the supreme God, act *as Gods*, with regard to those inferior Beings who are committed into their Charge. I apprehend it likewise appears from the Sentiments of the *Jews*, as well as from the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, that this is the Method of Government, which the Almighty hath been pleased to pursue in the Oeconomy of this Universe; still reserving to himself that incommunicable Quality of *Supreme*, which it would be a Contradiction to suppose him divested of, either with or without his Will; that is, either by his own Consent, or by Necessity.

CXV. It may not therefore be improper to consider, what was the Opinion of the most early Fathers of the Christian Church upon this Head; which though it ought to have no Weight against the express Dictates either of Reason or Revelation, yet, in Points not fully or distinctly revealed, the consulting of them is very proper and useful; as they

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they certainly are the best Evidence that can possibly be had of the Sentiments of the Church in their Times ; and the nearer that those Fathers lived to the Times of the Apostles, they may justly be supposed to be the less liable to have varied from any of the Doctrines or Practices of the truly primitive Church.

CXVI. Now if we consult the Opinions of the Fathers upon this Subject, for the first three hundred Years after Christ, we shall find them all universally agreeing in the aforementioned Doctrine : As may appear by consulting *Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Irenæus, the Author of the Recognitions, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Lactantius, &c.* out of which it seems needless to produce any Quotations, as this Point is plainly given up by three of the most learned Persons of the last Age ; two of whom being of a contrary Opinion from those Fathers, cannot be suspected of lightly giving up a Testimony of so much Consequence, if the Flagrancy of the Truth had not obliged them to it : And these are, the judicious Mr.

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Chillingworth, the learned Bishop *Bull*, and the discerning Dr. *Cudworth*. The Opinion of Mr. *Chillingworth* is to be found in a Letter of his to a Friend, who desired to know what Judgment might be made of *Arianism*, from the Sense of Antiquity. In answer to which Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote the following Letter : “ I was mistaken in
 “ my directing you to *Eusebius* for the
 “ Matter you wott of. You shall find it in
 “ a Witness much farther from Exception
 “ herein than *Eusebius*; even *Athanasius*
 “ himself, the greatest Adversary of that
 “ Doctrine; and *Hilary*, who was his Se-
 “ cond. See the first in *Ep. de Synodis*
 “ *Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 917. D. Tom. 1. Edit.
 “ *Par.* 1627. See the second, *De Synodis*,
 “ *fol.* 97. In the first you shall find that
 “ the Eighty Fathers, which condemned *Sa-*
 “ *mosatenus*, affirmed expressly — *That the*
 “ *the Son is not of the same Essence of the*
 “ *Father.* Which is to contradict formal-
 “ ly the Council of *Nice*, which decreed *the*
 “ *Son coessential to the Father.* In the
 “ Second you shall find these Words, to
 “ the same Purpose : — *Octoginta Epif-*
 “ *copi olim respuerunt rō Homousion.* See
 “ also, if you please, *Just. cont. Tryph.*
 “ p. 283,

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“ p. 283, 356, 357; *Tertullian* against
 “ *Praxeas*, cap. ix; *Novat*, de *Trin. in fine*,
 “ who is joined with *Tertul. Athanas. Ep.*
 “ de *fide div. Alex.* tom. i. p. 551; *Basil*,
 “ tom. ii. p. 802, 803. *Ed. Par.* 1618. See
 “ *St. Hierom. Apol. ii. contra Ruff.* tom. ii. p.
 “ 329. *Par.* 1579. See *Petav.* upon *Epiph.*
 “ his *Panar. ad Hæres.* 69. *quæ est Arii* p.
 “ 285. And consider well how he clears
 “ *Lucian* the Martyr, from *Arianism*, and
 “ what he there confesses of all the ancient
 “ Fathers.

“ If you could understand *French*, I
 “ would refer you to *Perron*, p. 633, of his
 “ Reply to *King James*; where you should
 “ find these Words: *If a Man should de-*
 “ *mand of an Arian, if he would submit to*
 “ *the Judgment of the Church of the Ages*
 “ *precedent to that of Constantine, he would*
 “ *make no Difficulty of it; but would press*
 “ *himself that the Controversy might be de-*
 “ *cided by that little which remains to us*
 “ *of the Authors of that Time. For an A-*
 “ *rian would find in Irenæus, Tertullian,*
 “ *and others which remain of those Ages,*
 “ *that the Son is the Instrument of the Fa-*
 “ *ther; that the Father commanded the Son*

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“ in the Works of Creation; that the Fa-
“ ther and the Son are ALIUD ET ALIUD,
“ which Things be that should now hold,
“ now when the Language of the Church is
“ more examined, would be esteemed a very
“ Arian.

“ If you read *Bellarmino* touching this
“ Matter, you should find that he is trou-
“ bled exceedingly to find any tolerable
“ Glosses for the Speeches of the Fathers
“ before the Council of *Nice*, which are
“ against him; and yet he conceals the
“ strongest of them, and to counterpoise
“ them, cites Authors that have indeed an-
“ cient Names, but such as he himself has
“ stigmatized for spurious or doubtful in his
“ Book *De Script. Eccles.*

“ Were I at Leisure, and had a little
“ longer Time, I could refer you to some
“ that acknowledge *Origen's* Judgment to
“ be also against them in this Matter. And
“ *Fisher*, in his Answer to Dr. *White's* Nine
“ Questions, has a Place almost parallel to
“ the above cited out of *Perron*.

“ In

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“ In a word, whosoever shall freely and
 “ impartially consider of this Thing, and
 “ how, on the other Side, the ancient Fa-
 “ thers Weapons against the *Arians* are in
 “ a Manner only Places of Scripture, (and
 “ those now for the most part discarded as
 “ impertinent and unconcluding) and how,
 “ in the Argument drawn from the Autho-
 “ rity of the ancient Fathers, they are almost
 “ always Defendants, and scarce ever Op-
 “ ponents ; he shall not choose, but confess,
 “ or at least be very inclinable to believe,
 “ that the Doctrine of *Arius* is either a
 “ Truth, or at least no damnable He-
 “ resy [7].”

The Words of Bishop *Bull*, when speak-
 ing of the Sentiments of *Origen* upon this
 Subject, are these : “ I conclude thus with
 “ myself, that *Origen*, who hath been so
 “ severely censured by Divines, both anci-
 “ ent and modern, was really *Catbolick* in
 “ the Article of the sacred Trinity ; al-
 “ though, in the Manner of explaining that
 “ Article, he sometimes speaks otherwise,

[7] See the Life of Mr. *Chillingworth*, written by *Des*
Maiseaux, p. 51.

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“ than the *Catholics* do ; [8] *which is no*
 “ *more than almost all the Fathers did*
 “ *who lived before the Council of Nice.*”
 As for Dr. *Cudworth*, he does not only
 give up the primitive Fathers, in their Ex-
 pressions, but also in their Meaning. For,
 as he undoubtedly thought himself to be in
 the Right, he imagined those Fathers to
 have been in an Error ; and makes use of
 this universal Consent of the ancient Fa-
 thers, of the Three first Centuries, in assert-
 ing the Dependence and Subjection of the
 Son to the Father, as an Argument in Proof
 of the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers of
 the Christian Church. For, says he, [9]
 “ Though it be true, that *Athanasius*,
 “ writing against the *Arians*, does appeal
 “ to the Tradition of the ancient Church,
 “ and, among others, cites *Origen's* Testi-
 “ mony ; yet was this only for the Eter-
 “ nity and Divinity of the Son of God, but
 “ not at all for such an absolute Coequality
 “ of him with the Father, as would ex-

[8] Quod ipsi cum reliquis fere omnibus Patribus, qui
 Concilium Nicænum antecesserunt, commune fuit. Bulli
Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. xi. c. 9. § 22.

[9] *Cud. Intell. Syst.* l. i. c. 4. p. 595.

“ clude

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“ clude all *Dependence*, *Subordination*, and
“ *Inferiority*: Those Ancients so unani-
“ mously agreeing therein, that they are
“ therefore by *Petavius* taxed with *Plato-*
“ *nism*, and having, by that Means, cor-
“ rupted the Purity of the Christian Faith,
“ in this Article of the Trinity. Which
“ how it can be reconciled with those other
“ Opinions of Ecclesiastical Tradition be-
“ ing a Rule of Faith, and the Impossi-
“ bility of the visible Churches erring in
“ any fundamental Point, cannot, says he,
“ easily be understood.”

CXVII. For my own Part, I will readi-
ly give up the Fallibility of the primitive
Fathers, and whoever will but give him-
self the Trouble of perusing their Writings,
will soon be convinced, that they were fal-
lible Men ; and I therefore only make use
of their Testimony in this Point, to shew
what was the Sense of the Church in their
Days, of which their own Writings are an
infallible Proof; whether they were fallible
in themselves or not,

CXVIII. But *Petavius*, says *Cudworth*,
taxed the primitive Fathers with *Platonism*,
and

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and with having, by that Means, corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith. That many of the primitive Fathers were bred up in the Schools of the *Platonic* Philosophers can hardly be denied; and that they would be inclined to endeavour to reconcile their own Principles and those of the Christian Religion together, is more than probable. It is also certain, that the *Pagans* held the Doctrine of a *Trinity*, and made use of that Word to express it by; but if it can be proved, that they held a Subordination in the Persons of the *Trinity*, before Christianity appeared in the World, and that all the primitive Christians, whether *Platonists* or not, held also the Doctrine of a Subordination of Power, in the Persons of the *Trinity*, for the first Three hundred Years after *Christ*; then the more probable Consequence to be drawn from thence, is this, That the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the primitive Christians, coinciding with the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the *Pagans* in general, and by the *Platonists* in particular, wherein a Subordination of Power between the Three Persons of the Trinity was a fundamental Principle, this might be one main Reason, why the *Platonists* were

so ready to embrace the Christian Religion : And not that they corrupted it after they had embraced it ; since, had their Principles, and the *Christians* on this Subject originally differed, the *Platonists* would not have been so easily made Converts.

CXIX. It may therefore not be improper at present to set before the Reader a short Sketch of the Doctrine of the *Pagan* Trinity, from whence will appear the Truth of what I have just now asserted.

CXX. The Opinion of the *Egyptians* concerning the Trinity, may be found in *Jamblichus*, who delivers it unto us. For in the Beginning of the Eighth Section, he makes *Porphry* ask, “ What do the *Egyptians* say is the *First Cause*? Is it Intellectual, or something above Intellect? Or, is it one only Being, or is it two, or more? Or, is it corporeal, or incorporeal? Or, is it the same with the Creator of this Universe, or something superior? In short, were all Things produced by One, or by Many?” To which *Jamblichus* answereth, *Πρὸ τῶν ὅλων ὅλων, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῶν ἐστὶ θεὸς ἓς, πρῶτος καὶ τὸ πρῶτον θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς, ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνότητος μένων,*

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μένων, ὅτε γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ἐπιπλέκειται, ὅτε ἄλλῃ
τί. Παράδειγμα δὲ ἰδρύσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ πατρὸς, αὐ-
τογόνου, καὶ μονοπάτορος Θεῷ, τῷ ὅλως ἀγαθῷ.
Μεῖζον γάρ τι καὶ πρῶτον, καὶ πλην τῶν πάντων,
καὶ πυθμὴν τῶν νοημένων πρώτων ἔδωκε ὅλως.
Ἀπὸ δὲ τῷ ἐνὸς τάδε, ὁ αὐτάρχης Θεὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐξέ-
λαμψε διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ, καὶ αὐτάρχης. Ἀρχὴ
γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ Θεὸς Θεῶν· μονὰς ἐκ τῷ ἐνὸς, πρὸ
ὑσίας καὶ ἀρχῇ τῆς ὑσίας· ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἡ ὑσιο-
της καὶ ἡ ὑσία· διὸ γὰρ νοητάρχης προσαγορεύεται.
Αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ προσβύταται πάντων,
ὥς Ἑρμῆς πρὸ τῶν αἰθερίων καὶ ἐμπυρίων Θεῶν
προσάττει, καὶ τῶν ἐπεραίων. Which is thus
rendered into Latin, by Mr. Gale: *Ante eas
res quæ vere sunt, & ante Principia univer-
salium, est Deus unus, prior etiam primo
Deo & Rege; est ille immobilis in solitudine
sue Unitatis permanens, neque enim intel-
lectuale ei miscetur, neque aliquid aliud, estque
exemplar sui ipsius patris, de se geniti & uni-
pater Deus; & vere bonus. Est enim majus
quid & prius, Fons omnium & Radix intel-
ligibilium Idearum primarum Entium. Ad
hoc autem uno, Deus per se sufficiens se ipse
explicavit; proinde est sui Pater & sibi suf-
ficiens. Est enim hic & Principium, &
Deus Deorum, Unitas ex uno, ante essentiam,
& Essentia Principium; nam ab eo fuit En-
titas*

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titas & Essentia, quapropter Noetarcha dicitur. Hæc igitur sunt Principia omnium antiquissima, quæ Mercurius supra Deos æthereos & empyreos, & cælestes constituit.

CXXI. I would have translated this Passage into *English*, if I could ; but there are some Parts of it, which seem to me so superintelligible, that I thought it advisable to give it in the Author's own Words ; and refer the *English* Translation of it to some of those Deistical Admirers of the Plainness and Simplicity of the Religion of Nature, who cannot bear the Thoughts of any thing that is mysterious in Revealed Religion.

CXXII. Abstruse and dark however, as it is, we may be furnished by it with some Light towards the Explanation of some Expressions in the *Pythagorean* Trinity, as it is given us by [1] *Simplicius*, in his Comment on *Aristotle*, out of *Moderatus the Pythagorean*:
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔσταν ἀποφαίνει· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ὅπῃ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, καὶ νοητὸν, τὰ εἶδη φησὶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὑπὲρ ἐστὶ ψυχικόν, μέλει· τὰ ἑνὰς, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν. For it

[1] *Simpl. in Phys. Arist. fol. 50.*

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is plain that the *πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν ἰστίαν*, of the *Pythagoreans*, that is, *the First One who is above Being, and all Existence*, is the same (I had almost said *Being*) with that God of the *Egyptians*, who being prior to the First God, is *Super-Intelligible*. That the *τὸ δεύτερον ἐν ὧς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, καὶ νοῦν, καὶ εἰδὴ φησὶν εἶναι*. That is, *the Second One who is Existence itself, and Intelligence, and is called IDEA*, is that First, or rather Second God aforementioned, who, according to the *Egyptians*, having unfolded himself, came forth into Being, and was self-begotten, and was equally his own Father and his own Son, who is the Principle of all Existence, and of all Intelligence. As to the *τὸ τρίτον ἐν*, or *Third One*, of the *Pythagoreans*, which they call *Ψυχικόν*, or *Animal*, that answers to the third and lower Class of the Empyrean and Ætherial Deities, who were supposed to preside over several Parts of this Universe, being as it were the Souls of this World.

CXXIII. The *Platonic Trinity*, as it was digested into Form by the Disciples of *Plato*, was not very different from this. There is indeed no one Passage in *Plato*,
where

where his Notion of a Deity is delivered explicitly, and reduced into a regular System. For, either out of Fear of his Countrymen, or because he was not settled in his own Notions, or both, he speaks very obscurely on this Subject. That Treatise which he entitles *Timæus*, is the most copious on this Head, and therein he speaks plainly of [2] one sempiternal and unorigi- nated God. Which God, says *Plato*, when he reasoned within himself about a future God, made this Universe, and placed this [3] perfectly happy God which he begat, as the Soul in the Middle of it.

CXXIV. Which God though he frequently mentions as a created Being, yet he styles him also [4] *the IMAGE of Intelligence*, or of the most intelligent God; *the greatest and best; the most beautiful, and the most perfect, and the only-begotten God*. Which Universe, says *Plato*, when he had thus made and [5] contemplated, he rejoiced

[2] τὸ ὄν αἰὲν, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον.

[3] εὐδαίμονα θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐγενήσατο:

[4] Ἐικόνα τῆ νοῦ, μέγιστον καὶ ἄριστον, κάλλιστον καὶ τελειώ-
τατον, and μονογενῆ.

[5] Whoever reads this, I think, cannot avoid being con-
vinced that *Plato* herein imitates the Account which *Moses*

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ted over it. He then made *Time*, and [6] formed the Sun and Moon, and five other Planets, to be the Measures thereof. But as there were yet no Animals, therefore God formed what was wanting, by a *secondary Imitation of the first Exemplar*: πρὸς τὴν τῆ παραδείγματος ἀποσπόμενος φύσιν. Which is plainly borrowed from that Doctrine among the *Jews*, wherein they asserted Man not to be made in the Image of the Supreme God, but of the Second God. The Words of *Philo Judæus*, as they are quoted by *Eusebius*, are, Θνητὸν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνώτατον καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεόν, ὃς ἐκείνους λόγους. *Nil enim mortale in summi illius & rerum universarum Parentis imaginem consignari potest, sed in imaginem Secundi Dei, hoc est, ejus Verbi, potest.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.

CXXV. *Plato* then, in compliance with the orthodox Notion of his Country, and

gives of the Creation, which he signifies with saying, *And God saw every Thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.* Gen. i. 31:

[6] ἥλιος καὶ Σελήνη, καὶ πᾶσι ἄλλα ἄστρα, ἐπὶ ὧν ἔχουσιν Πλανήταις, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου γίνονται. See Gen. i. 14; of which this is almost a Translation.

for Fear of the Fate of *Socrates*, says, But as to other Gods which are called [7] *Dæmons*, to speak properly of their Origin, or even to conceive it, is above the Reach of our Faculties; it is therefore our Duty to believe those our Ancestors, who, having unfolded their Natures, affirm them to be the Offspring of the Gods; and so to submit ourselves to the ancient Laws and Customs. And then he introduces the God who [8] framed all Things, as speaking to these *Dæmons*, *Saturn*, *Ops*, *Jupiter*, &c. whom he calls [9] the Gods begotten by himself; and empowers them to be his Instruments in the Production of Animals, and [1] to imitate that Virtue which he had exercised in their Origin.

CXXVI. Whence it is plain, that *Plato* was afraid to speak out; but his Disciples, by degrees, gathering Courage, his System was reduced into Form, before the Time

[7] See Sect. xxv.

[8] Ὁς τὸ πᾶν γένεσας.

[9] Τοῖς αὐτοῦ γυνήμασι.

[1] Μιμούμενοι τὴν ἑμὴν δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἑμὴν γένεσιν.

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of [2] *Porphyry*, who, in his Fourth Book of the History of Philosophy, says, "Ἀρχὴ τῶν τελευτῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἔφη Πλάτων, ἢ τῶν θεῶν προελθεῖν ὁσίαν εἶναι δὲ ἢ μὴ ἀνάταστον θεῶν τ' Ἀγαθόν, μετ' αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιουργόν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τῶν κόσμων ψυχὴν. *Usque ad tres Hypostasēs, dicit Plato, Dei progredi Essentiam; Et esse quidem dicit Deum summe bonum; post illum autem secundum Conditorem; tertium autem Mundi Animam.*

CXXVII. *Porphyry* was reckoned the most learned *Platonist* of his Age; and flourished about the Time when the substantial Doctrine of the Trinity began to make a Noise; and therefore his Sense of the *Platonic* Doctrine, is so much the more for our Purpose. It appears therefore from hence, that the *Platonic* and *Pythagorean* Doctrine of the Trinity, did not differ very widely at this Time one from the other, and that That God of the *Egyptians*, which was prior to the first, or the Πρῶτον ἐν of the *Pythagoreans*, was the

[2] *Porphyry* flourished about the latter End of the third Century. His Books were afterwards ordered to be burnt; but the Quotation which I have here produced may be found in St. *Cyril's* Treatise against *Julian*, B. viii.

same

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same with the τὸ ἐν, and the τὸ ἀγαθὸν of the *Platonists*. The God of *Existence*, *Ideas*, or *Intelligence*, according to the *Egyptians*, or the τὸ δεύτερον ἐν of the *Pythagoreans*, which they also called εἰδὴ, *Idea*, being by the *Platonists* called νῦς and λόγος; i. e. *Mind* and *Reason*, or *Wisdom*. And the inferior Class of ætherial Deities, who were considered as the Soul of the World, among the *Egyptians*, answering to the τρίτον ἐν or the ἐν ψυχικόν of the *Pythagoreans*, being called ψυχή, i. e. *the Soul*, by the *Platonists*.

CXXVIII. They agreed also in the Offices which were assigned to these *Three Gods*. For the first was asserted to be ὑπὲρ above all Existence and Intelligence. The Second God was Existence and Intelligence itself, and the Communicator of them to other Beings: He is therefore represented by them as the Δημιουργός, the *Fabricator*, and *Maker* of this Frame of the Universe. The Third God, who is said to partake both of the First and Second Εἶ, or God, was held to be *the Soul* of the World, vivifying and enlivening it.

CXXIX. Hence it is plain, however, that the Disciples of *Plato* had varied from their Master's Plan. Because he positively asserts the one unoriginated God to have made this Universe, and therefore frequently calls him the [3] Δημιουργός. He likewise positively asserts the Second, that is, the God who was begotten by the one unoriginated God, to have been placed by him in the Middle of this round Universe, as [4] *the Soul* of it.

CXXX. It is nevertheless manifest, beyond all Controversy, that both *Plato* and his Disciples held a Kind of essential Subordination to have existed between these Gods, as the *Hebrews* undoubtedly did. And therefore I suppose them to have been more easily converted to the *Christian* Religion than they otherwise would have been.

CXXXI. And accordingly, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, one of those primitive Fathers whom *Cudworth* allows to have acknowledged a Subordination in the Persons of

[3] *Plato* in *Timæo*.

[4] *Id. ibid.*

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the Trinity, when speaking concerning a Passage in *Plato*, says, [5] “ *I understand this no otherwise, than that the holy Trin-
 “ nity is signified thereby, the THIRD being
 “ the Holy Spirit, and the SECOND the Son,
 “ by whom all Things were made, according
 “ to the Will of the FATHER.*” This Pas-
 sage, to which *Clemens* refers, is to be found
 in the second Epistle of *Plato* to *Dionysius*,
 on account of his having complained, that
Plato was not explicit enough in what he said
 about the *First Cause*; to whom *Plato* says,
 “ That these Things must be spoken of in a
 “ kind of *Riddle*; that if any Accident
 “ should happen to these Papers, either by
 “ Land or Sea, he that finds them may not
 “ be able to understand them. The Thing
 “ therefore, says he, stands thus: *Περὶ τῶν
 “ πάντων βασιλεία πάντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνη ἕνεκα πάντων.
 “ καὶ ἐκείνος ἅγιον ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν. δεύτερον
 “ δεῖ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα.*”
*Circa omnium Regem sunt omnia, & illius
 Causa omnia: & ipse est omnium rerum pul-
 chrarum Causa: Secundum ad Secunda,
 Tertium ad Tertia.* Which Fear of a Dis-
 covery accounts for the seeming Contradic-

[5] *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 710. edit. Pot.*

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tions in *Plato*, and the Darkneſs in which his Theology is involved, and ſhews that his Diſciples were indeed obliged to pick his Doctrines out of *Riddles*, as he himſelf expreſſeth it.

CXXXII. But [6] *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, who was of the contrary Opinion from *Clement Alexandrinus*, that is, who held a Co-equality in the Perſons of the Trinity, for he lived in the fifth Century, and about 100 Years after the Council of *Nice*, wherein the Conſubſtantiality of the Father and the Son was firſt eſtabliſhed in the *Chriſtian Church*; *Cyril*, I ſay, when ſpeaking of the *Platonic* Philoſophy, [7], ſays, “ There
 “ would have been nothing at all wanting
 “ to the *Platonic* Trinity, for an abſolute
 “ Agreement of it with the *Chriſtian*, had
 “ they but accommodated the right Notion
 “ of *Conſubſtantiality* to their three *Hypoſ-*
 “ *taſes*; ſo that there might have been but
 “ one ſpecific Nature or Eſſence of the God-
 “ head, not diſtinguiſhable by any natural
 “ Diverſity, and ſo no one *Hypoſtaſis* any
 “ way inferior or ſubordinate to another.”

[6] *Cyril cont. Jul. lib. viii.* [7] *Idem ibid.*

CXXXIII. As for the Doctrine of the *three Hypostases*, which is here mentioned by *Cyril*, that was not the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, but was the Doctrine of the *Arians*, as well as of the *Platonists*. It was indeed afterwards adopted by some of the *Consubstantialists*, and was inserted in that Creed which goes under the Name of *Athanasius*; but which could not possibly have been written by him, because he, as well as the rest of the *Nicene Fathers*, insisted upon it, that there was but [8] *one Hypostasis* in the Trinity, any more than one *Uſia*, since they, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Platonists*, supposed those two Words to mean one and the same thing; in which however they were certainly so far in the right. For the Word *Οὐσία* literally signifies a *Being*, or *Existence*; and the Word *Υπόστασις* literally signifies a *Subſtence*, or *Subſtance*; which hath been ſhewed in the [9] Beginning of this Treatiſe,

[8] *Athanasius*, in his Treatiſe on the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, [vol. i. p. 934.] which was written towards the latter End of his Life, poſitively aſſerts: Ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνουσαν ἔχει. *Hypostasis enim [idem cum USIA] ſubſtantia eſt, nec aliam ſignificationem habet.* And to the ſame Purpoſe in ſeveral other Places.

[9] See Sect. ii.

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to be the same with a *Being*, or *Existence*. And accordingly, the *Greek Word Οὐσία* is generally translated by the *Latin Word Substantia*. [1] *Socrates*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, who lived after *Cyril*, and was a very zealous *Consubstantialist*, when giving his Opinion concerning the Meaning of the Word *ὑπόστασις*, says, “ that this Word, according to
 “ *Irenæus*, was a barbarous Word; and was
 “ not to be found among the ancient Authors.
 “ But, says *Socrates*, it is used by *Sophocles*,
 “ to signify a *Trap* or *Pit-fall*, to catch any
 “ thing in; and by *Menander* to signify the
 “ Sediment of any thing; as for Example,
 “ if any one should call the *Lees* of Wine
 “ which fall to the Bottom, an *Hypostasis*.
 “ But though this Word was not used by
 “ the more ancient Philosophers, yet, says
 “ he, you must understand that the *Mo-*
 “ *derns* make use of it instead of *Οὐσία*.”
 To say therefore that the three Persons in the Trinity are *one Ufia* and *three Hypostases*, is the same thing as to say, that they are *one Substance* and *three Substances* at the same time; which I take to be a Contradiction in

[1] *Socrat. Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 7.

Terms,

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Terms, and therefore cannot be affirmed even of God himself,

CXXXIV. For when it is said, in the *Nicene Creed*, that the Son is [2] ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆ πατρὸς, *of the Substance of the Father*, and that he is ὁμοούσιος τῇ πατρὶ, *of one Substance* with the Father, it is not meant thereby that he is of one and the same kind of Substance with the Father, but that he is actually one and the same *undivided* Substance with the Father. Wherein then, you will say, does the Difference consist? Why, according to *Cyril*, *not in any natural Diversity*, but *numerically only*; that is, in being said to be *three* Substances, at the same time that they are but *one* Substance.

CXXXV. I am very sensible that in our *English Translation* of the Creed commonly called the *Athanasian Creed*, we have followed the Church of *Rome*, whose Infallibility can give what Signification it pleases to Words, in rendering the Word ὑπόστασις, by the *English Word Person*, that Church

[2] This is omitted in our *English Copy* of the *Nicene Creed*, though it was undoubtedly in the original *Greek*.

having

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having rendered it by the *Latin Word Persona*. But let us see whether this will mend the Matter, which we shall find it does not, unless we make use of a shameful kind of Equivocation, by using the Word *Person* in two different Senses, or rather, in no Sense at all. For that the Word *Person* is capable of two different Senses being put upon it is very plain; thus it is sometimes made use of to denote, *that identical Personality, whereby any one intelligent Agent is distinguished from any other intelligent Agent*. As for Example, when it is said, *Numb. v. 6, 7.* “When a Man or Woman shall commit any Sin that Men commit, to do a Trespas against the Lord, and that *Person* be guilty; then they shall confess their Sin which they have done,” &c. In this Place the Word *Person* is here put to denote the Man or Woman who was guilty of the Trespas: And can never signify any other Man or Woman, but the offending one only; nor any more Persons than those that were guilty. According to which Sense of the Word, every separate Person must be considered as a separate intelligent Agent, and every separate intelligent Agent must be considered as a separate Person from every other

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ther intelligent Agent, and will for ever, if he exists so long, be the same Person he was, whether he repents or not, whether he is young or old; or whether he exists in this World or in the next. And it would be a Contradiction in Terms to say, that this one Person is two different Persons, or that two different Persons is this same Person; for hence it is that the common Expression takes its Rise, when, speaking of any one Man, we say, this is the very *individual* Person, who did such or such a Fact, because, if he could be *divided*, he would be no longer the same Person.

CXXXVI. But in this Sense of the Word, the *Consubstantialists* will not allow the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity, because this would make them as much three separate Beings, as *Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, are three separate Men: And would contradict the *Homousian* Doctrine, which supposes the three Persons of the Trinity to be one *undivided* Substance, or, as *Cyril* expresseth it, *one specific Nature*, or *Essence*.

CXXXVII.

CXXXVII. Sometimes however this Word *Person* is made use of to denote only the Relation which one intelligent Agent bears to another ; or the distinguishing Mark of his Character, whereby he is to be known from other intelligent Agents, or even from himself, either at different Times, or in different Circumstances. In which Sense of the Word the same individual Person, or intelligent Agent, may be considered as twenty different Persons all at the same Time. For thus the same intelligent Agent may be considered in the Person of a King, of a General, of an Ally, of a Philosopher, of a Father, or of a Son, of an Husband, or of a Batchelor, of an old Man, or of a young Man, &c. &c. For, says Stephens, in his *Latin Thesaurus*, *Persona significat qualitatem eam qua homo differt ab homine, tum in anima, tum in corpore, tum in extra positis ; quæ a Rhetoricis annumerantur inAttributis Personæ : ut, Hector ad Priamum Persona Filii est ; ad Astyanactem Persona Patris ; ad Andromachem Persona Mariti ; ad Paridem Persona Fratris ; ad Sarpedonem Amici ; ad Achillem Persona Inimici.* In which Sense of the Word it is that that Expression must be understood, when *Moses* saith of God, that he

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he [3] *regardeth not Persons*, by which is meant, not that God regardeth not Mankind, as they are so many intelligent Agents, but that he doth not respect Men on account of their personal Circumstances, or Characters, or Figure, or Relation in Life : But neither will the *Consubstantialists* allow this Interpretation of the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity, so to be understood as if they were only three different Personages, or Characters, or Attributes, of the same Being ; because that would be manifest *Sabellianism*, and would not allow any real Existence to any of them but one.

CXXXVIII. And though they say that one of these Persons is the *Father*, and the other the *Son* ; they will not allow one to be prior or posterior to the other ; but declare them both to be coequal and coeternal, which is by no means consistent with the Relation that there is between Father and Son : For though the Relation between two coequal coeternal Beings might bear some Analogy to the Denomination of *Brothers*, yet it seems

[3] Deut. x. 17. Matth. xxii. 16. Mark xii. 14.

absolutely

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absolutely inconsistent with that of Father and Son.

CXXXIX. But, in order to conduct us a little further into the Knowledge of this Affair, it may be proper to inquire into the Reasons which seem to have led the Compilers of the *Nicene Creed* into this Determination of the Consubstantiality of the Father and Son.

CXL. The Doctrine of *Arius*, was, that *the Son, being begotten of the Father before all Times and all Ages, subsisted only through the Will of the Father: But that he was not eternal, that is, coeternal with the Father; nor did he come into Existence along with the Father.*

CXLI. In order to refute which Doctrine, the *Nicene Bishops* composed a Creed, wherein they asserted the Son to be *of the Substance of the Father, and consubstantial with the Father*; and at the End of the Creed annexed these three Anathemas, or damnatory Clauses: [4] τὰς δὲ λέγωντας ὅτι ἦν πρὶν ὅτι ἐκ

[4] Socrat. *Ecclef. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 8.

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ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ οὐδενος ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκειν εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπλὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *But they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not, and that he did not exist before he was begotten: Or that say, he was begotten out of nothing: Or that say he existed out of any other HYPOSTASIS, or USIA, than the Father; or was created, or is liable to Mutation or Change, the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church anathematizes.*

CXLII. From whence it may be observed in the first Place, that these Fathers understood the Words *Usia* and *Hypostasis* in the same Sense, so as to mean one and the same thing; and that as the Son was of the same undivided, or individual *Usia*, so was he also in the same undivided or individual *Hypostasis* with the Father. And possibly this may be the Reason why these Anathemas are omitted out of our present *Nicene Creed*; because they contradict in Terms the *Athanasian Creed*, which asserts, that “there is one *Hypostasis* of the Father, and “another of the Son, and another of the “Holy Spirit.”

CXLIII.

CXLIII. But it does not seem so easy to explain what is meant by the first Anathema; *Cursed be they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not; and that he did not exist before he was begotten.* However, if it means any thing, it must be this; that whereas the *Arians* asserted that the Son was begotten before all Time, and before all Ages, nevertheless they asserted, that although they would allow he might, upon that account, in some Sense be called eternal; yet that the Son could not be coeternal with the Father, because the Begetter must have existed before the Begotten. In order therefore to invalidate the Force of this Argument, and make the Son nevertheless coeternal with the Father, the *Nicene* Bishops, since they could not deny but the Begetter must have existed before the Begotten, seemed to have framed this Anathema, wherein they assert, in Imitation of *Irenæus*, and some few other metaphysical Writers, that the Son did exist before he was begotten: That is, that he did potentially exist in the Substance of the Father, out of which he was afterwards begotten.

CXLIV. And this is the Reason why they likewise anathematized, in the second Place, those who should say, that the Son was *begotten out of nothing*, in order to establish the following Doctrine of the Son being begotten out of the Substance of the Father; which Substance being undoubtedly coeternal with the Father, therefore the Son, who virtually [5] or potentially existed in it, must, according to their Method of Reasoning, also be coeternal.

CXLV. But, with humble Submission to such great Authority, this Assertion absolutely destroys the modern favourite Doctrine of the eternal Generation of the Son: Because that although it should be allowed that the Son might possibly have virtually subsisted from all Eternity, in the Substance, or Mind, of the Father, as every thing did, that either hath existed, or ever will exist, yet I suppose it a Contradiction in Terms to say, that he existed, as a Son, till he was begotten. And therefore that the *Nicene* Fathers have

[5] Δυνάμει ἢ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγνώστως, *Potentia erat in Patre, ingenita quadam ratione.* Theod. Ecclef. Hist. lib. i. ap. 12.

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anathematized all such as will not affirm a [6]
Contradiction.

CXLVI. And I cannot help saying, it is something odd to have these two Creeds established in the same Church, in one of which those are declared to be *accursed*, who deny the Son to be of the same *Ufia*; or *Hypostasis*, with the Father; and in the other, it is declared, *they cannot be saved* who do not assert, that [7] *there is one Hypostasis of the Father, and another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost*.

CXLVII. But, in order to obviate all these Objections, it is thought sufficient by some, to say, that there are many Powers in the divine Nature, which human Beings are not capable of comprehending. Nay, so far are we Mortals from being able to comprehend the Divine Nature, that we know very little of the Things which are on Earth; that there is not one of all the various Things which surround us, that does not contain something in its Frame and Constitution, which is be-

[6] For the Assertions of the *Arians* were ἡ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἡ ἐξουσία, &c. That *there was* (a Time) *when THE SON was not*, &c. Athan. vol. i. p. 97.

[7] *Athanasian Creed*.

yond

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yond the Abilities of the most subtile Philosopher to explain.

CXLVIII. Be it so. — Let us then acknowledge the narrow Limits of the human Understanding; which, I think, nobody, who looks within himself, can be without sensibly seeing and feeling: But then let us not turn such violent Sceptics, as to assert, that, because we do not know every thing, therefore we know nothing; that because we cannot see by Night as well as by Day, therefore we must not believe our own Eyes, even when the Sun shines directly over our Heads.

CXLIX. I shall therefore take it for granted, that there are some Truths in Nature, that are level to our Understandings, and that we may pronounce with some Degree of Certainty, for Example, that two and two make four; and that it is a Contradiction in Terms to say, that the same individual Substance, whether spiritual or corporeal, *can be*, and *not be*, at the same Time, and in the same Place. Now, if the Knowledge of these Propositions is within the Reach of our Understanding, then we may safely affirm, if the Father and Son are *consubstantial*, that

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is, if the Substance of the Father be the same undivided Substance with the Son; and that the Substance of the Son did enter into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and became incarnate; that then it will follow, of Consequence, that the Substance of the Father did enter into the Virgin's Womb, and was incarnate also. Since otherwise, one and the same individual Substance may be, and not be, at the same Time, and in the same Place.

CL. Again, if this Proposition be taken for granted, which may be found *totidem Verbis*, in the *Athanasian Creed*, that *as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ*; and if this other Proposition be allowed, which may be found as explicitly in the Scriptures, that this one [8] *Christ suffered* for the Sins of Mankind; then it must follow, of Consequence, that *Christ* suffered in his Godhead, as well as his Humanity; since otherwise, it would have been the Man *Jesus*, and not *Jesus the Messiah*, or *Christ*, that suffered for the Sins of Men.

[8] Heb. ix 28, 1 Pet. ii 21. iii. 18.

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CLI. Now as the Consideration of these Things is, so far at least, within the Reach of our Capacities, if we suppose the Premises aforementioned to be true, which the *Consubstantialists* will hardly deny; the Conclusions, which they will not allow, are, nevertheless, as demonstrably true, as any Proposition in the Mathematics.

CLII. But let us go a little further, and suppose, for the present, that these Things were above our Comprehension; and then I should be glad to be informed ~~of the Reason~~ why those very Persons who roar so loud against the vain Attempts of Men, in scrutinizing *the Things which belong unto Heaven*, should take upon them to explain those Doctrines, which they themselves declare to be above the Reach of human Understandings.

CLIII. When the *Papists* want to persuade Men out of their Senses, and to prevail upon *Protestants* to acknowledge the absurd Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, they are very ample and florid in their Declamations upon the Immensity and Incomprehensibleness of God and his Attributes; and upon the Minuteneſs

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nuteness and Insufficiency of human Abilities; and are always setting forth, in the strongest Terms, how little we know, and how much we are ignorant. And therefore, say they, ~~since~~ our Saviour hath said, *This is my Body, and this is my Blood*, we ought to believe it to be so, though we could not comprehend the Manner how.

CLIV. All which would be undoubtedly right, and true, if they were to go no further. But if what they say be true, about the Weakness of human Understandings, ~~now~~ came they to have Abilities for explaining those Mysteries, which the rest of Mankind are so unequal to the Inquiry into? Why do they pretend to say, that this Mystery consists in a *Transubstantiation* of the Elements, when there is no such Word in the Scriptures?

CLV. And since it must be undoubtedly acknowledged, that the Belief in any Mystery can be no further required as necessary to Salvation, than in proportion as that Mystery is revealed; if this be a Mystery, surely they ought to leave it as they found it, and not presume to explain that which they declare to be inexplicable.

CLVI.

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CLVI. And is not this Method of Reasoning as strong, with regard to *Consubstantiation*, as *Transubstantiation*? It certainly is. And therefore when the *Protestants* argue against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, the *Papists* never fail objecting the equal Incredibility of a *consubstantial* Trinity.

CLVII. The Doctrine of the Trinity is as certainly revealed in the 19th Verse of the xxviiith Chapter of St. *Matthew*, as the Doctrine of the *Eucharist* is, in the 26th Verse of the xxvth Chapter of the same Evangelist. But the Scriptures are as silent about the *Consubstantiality* of the one, as about the *Transubstantiation* of the other. Whence then came the Revelation of these wonderful Doctrines? Why! both originally from the same Oracle; from the Papal Chair.

CLVIII. I think it therefore incumbent on those *Protestant* Bishops, who hold the Doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, to inform us of the Reasons why the Infallibility of the Pope must be acknowledged in one of these Instances, and not in the other. And why, if their Eyes are sufficient to let them see, as well as the Pope, that the three Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are

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one coeternal, coequal, and undivided Substance, when we undertake to argue against it, they should say to us, Ye are blind! ye are blind! Or, why if we are blind, though they are not, this metaphysical dispute should be made a Part of the public Service of the Church, which is an Assembly composed, not only of quick-sighted Philosophers, but of the lowest of the People, who are required there to give their Assent to these equivocal, if not contradictory, Interpretations of Scripture, under the Penalty of eternal Damnation; and to declare, that *every one who doth not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, without doubt shall perish everlastingly; and that this is the Catholic Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

CLIX. I shall accordingly expect some of the Right Reverend Members of the *Protestant Church of Ireland*, either to account for this, or to exonerate their Consciences, by joining in an humble Remonstrance against it: And I do promise, if any of them shall deign to honour this *Treatise* with an Answer, that if it pleaseth God to spare my Life, it shall speedily be followed, either by a Recantation, or a Reply.

F I N I S.

A
D E F E N C E

O F T H E

Essay on Spirit ;

W I T H

R E M A R K S

O N T H E

Several pretended Answers;

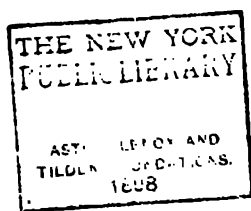
And which may serve as an Antidote against
all that shall ever appear against it.

L O N D O N ,

Printed, and sold by J. NOON in the *Poultry*, G.
WOODFALL at *Charing-Cross*, and M. COOPER
in *Pater-noster-row*.

MDCCLIII.

[Price One Shilling.]



A N
A N S W E R
 T O T H E
 Several Occasional Remarks
 O N T H E
ESSAY on SPIRIT.

I.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled,
*A Letter to the Right Reverend the
 Lord Bishop of Clogher in Ireland,*
occasioned by his Lordship's Essay
 on Spirit.

TH E Title of this Pamphlet is a very
 improper one ; for as the Author of
 the *Essay*, whoever he is, does not
 choose to put his own Name to it, nobody
 else has a Right to do it for him. He seems
 to have been desirous of promoting an En-
 B quiry

quiry after Truth only, and for that purpose took such Steps as might secure the Reader from personal Partiality or Prejudice.

This the Writer of the Pamphlet seems sensible of, which makes the Apology for putting his Lordship's Name to it ten times worse: For he begins with saying, *Though your Lordship, for some prudential Reasons, has not thought fit to set your Name, &c.* Now, if his Lordship (supposing him to have been the Author) had *prudential Reasons* for concealing his Name, can any one good-natured Reason be assigned for this Author's revealing it? Is not such a Discovery, where neither the Honour of God, nor the Good of Mankind necessarily require it, an immoral Action in itself?

As to the general Purport of the Work, it is not an Answer, but only a Collection of Cavils against the Author of the *Essay* for not being against human Establishments with regard to Religion. Concerning which all this Author says is exceedingly fallacious from Page 7 to p. 12. Because the Welfare and Support of Society is so founded by the great Author of Nature on the Basis of Religion, that it is impossible to separate the one from the other; and of consequence the
Establish-

Establishment of the one will necessarily require the Establishment of the other. And in Answer to his Question, *Who is the Judge?* it may truly be said, that the same Legislative Powers which establish the one, have a Right to establish the other; and to choose that Religion which they think to be best.

As to what he says, p. 4. against the Author of the *Essay*, for publishing his Thoughts on this Subject in the Garb of a Metaphysical Essay; because, saith he, *The Poor had the Gospel preached unto them, &c.* the Author of this Pamphlet does not seem to consider that the *Essay* was not designed to combat any Opinions that ever were, or ever ought to have been preached to the Poor. But he was combating the Decrees of Councils, and the Opinions of Men, upon some speculative and metaphysical Points, which the Scriptures had not clearly revealed; which, though only the Doctrines of Men, were nevertheless preached to the Poor as the Doctrines of God. The Author of the *Essay* therefore writes to these metaphysical Divines to forbear their own Comments, and to preach only the Gospel of Christ to the Poor. In which every thing that is necessary to be known is sufficiently revealed; and on which account

it is that the Author of the *Essay* affirms, that our Belief in any Mystery can be no further required than as far as that Mystery is plainly revealed. And hence may be collected the following Deduction, which is directly opposite to that which this Author would fix upon the *Essay*, viz. *That the Bulk of Mankind are capable of judging of the true Sense of Scripture, in all Points which it concerns them nearly to know.* And therefore the Conclusion which the Author of the *Essay* seems to be desirous of having further deduced from thence, is this, that the *Poor*, or the Bulk of Mankind, ought not to be disturbed with the Decrees of Councils, *which it does not concern them to know*; and which seems to have been the Reason of his cloathing his *Essay* in a metaphysical Garb.

This Author says, p. 12. “ That he does
 “ not see what Use it is, any other than for
 “ the Amusement of the Reader, or to dis-
 “ play the Learning of the Writer, to shew
 “ the Light in which the Doctrine of the
 “ Trinity was held by the ancient *Hebrews*,
 “ the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoreans* or *Platonists*.”
 Had the Author of the *Essay* been only writ-
 ing for the Use of the Author of this Pam-
 phlet, he probably would not have taken the
 Pains

Pains to display his Learning ; but as it is probable, that some Men of Learning may read his *Essay*, and that such would know that Men of Learning, such as Dr. *Cudworth* and the ingenious Author of *Siris*, have produced the *Platonic* Notions of the Trinity, &c. in Vindication of the Consubstantial Doctrine of the Trinity, therefore the Author of the *Essay* might reasonably think that it would be required of him to shew, that even these kinds of Arguments had no Force in them.

The Author of this Pamphlet says, p. 14.
 “ How indeed the Son is the only begotten
 “ of the Father, or how the Holy Spirit
 “ proceeds from the Father, this the Scrip-
 “ ture has no where declared, and there-
 “ fore the wisest Man ought not to presume
 “ to be able to explain it.” If I do not mistake the Drift and Design of the Author of the *Essay on Spirit*, the enforcing this Proposition is the main Purport of his Book, as may be seen by the Conclusion, from Sect. 152. to the End. And therefore his whole Book seems only intended, not to enforce any Explanations of his own, but to shew how ineffectual all Attempts to explain this Mystery have been hitherto. And as to the Question proposed by

the Author of this Pamphlet, p. 15. where he says, " For, pray, my Lord, is any Man " the wiser or the better Christian for knowing,---that the Fathers understood the " Words *Ufia* and *Hypostasis* in the same " Sense?" The Answer may be this: That he who at present is persuaded to believe that the present Doctrine of one *Ufia* and three *Hypostases* was the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Fathers, is made wiser, when he is informed, that this was not the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Fathers; who held that there was but one *Hypostasis* as well as but one *Ufia* in the Trinity. But how far he is made the better for this Knowledge must depend upon himself: And the use which the Author of the *Essay* seems to wish the Reader would make of this Information, is, to join in endeavouring to have this Piece of false Doctrine removed out of our Creeds and out of our Liturgies.

The Author of this Pamphlet says, p. 14, " These are the only Mysteries in Christianity, viz. The Manner how the Son and " Holy Spirit derive their Being from God, " even the Father; and these not the wisest " Men, probably not the highest Angels, " are able to understand." To which it
may

may be answered, *first*, That these are by no means *the only Mysteries* in Christianity. And, *secondly*, That, supposing they were, the *Manner* how is no Part of Christianity. And therefore it is against the Explanation of these Mysteries, that the Author of the *Essay* seems principally to set himself. The Supporters of which, are for making *the Manner how* a Part of Christianity. Which he thinks, as it was never revealed, ought by no means to be considered as such. In which the Author of this Pamphlet seems to agree with him in the Main; though he is pleased to find such unnecessary Faults with him.

With regard to praying to the *Holy Spirit*, which is an Objection the Author of this Pamphlet seems to plume himself upon; and to assert, that *nothing can be our Duty but what there is an express Command for*, p. 18. this is a Position, which I think cannot be supported; there being many Duties which are to be collected by rational Deductions both from the Laws of Reason and Revelation, without an *express Command*.

The Author of the *Essay on Spirit*, Sect. 84. hath observed, that “ it is but just that
“ whatever Degree of Authority the Al-

“ mighty is pleased to give to any one Being
 “ over others, there should be a suitable De-
 “ gree of Submission paid to that Being, in
 “ Proportion to the extent of Authority dele-
 “ gated from God.” And as in established
 Governments *the Powers that be, are*, said to
 be, *ordained of God*, therefore it is understood
 to be conformable to the Will of God, that we
 should apply to them for the Grant of such Fa-
 vours, as the Almighty has put in their Power
 to bestow ; though there is *no express Com-*
mand for our doing so ; in like Manner, since
 we are informed in the sacred Writings, that
 the *Holy Spirit* hath been sent by God the
 Father through Christ, to be our *Comforter*,
to abide with us for ever, to guide us into all
Truth, to help our Infirmities, and is *given to*
every Man to profit withal ; and since we are
 convinced that this *Holy Spirit* hath received
 Power to *search* our Hearts, to take Cog-
 nizance of our Thoughts and Actions, and
 of Consequence to *dwell in us and be in*
us ; there is the same Reason for our beg-
 ging the Assistance of this Holy Spirit in
 communicating to us those Graces which he
 hath received Power from the Almighty to
 grant, though there should be *no express*
Command for it, that there is for our ask-
 ing

ing a Favour from the King, who hath also received his Power from God, the ultimate Author of all Power.

II.

The next Pamphlet that appeared against the *Essay on Spirit*, was

An Article in the *Compendious Library or Literary Journal*, published in Dublin, for November and December, 1751.

THE Author of it, in Answer to this Paragraph in the *Essay*, Sect. 3.
 “ God is the only self-existent Being : Every
 “ Thing therefore that exists, beside that
 “ First Cause, which way soever it is brought
 “ into Being, whether it be *begotten*, *emana-*
 “ *nated*, *created*, or *spoken forth*, it must
 “ proceed from and owe its Existence to the
 “ Will, as well as Power of that First
 “ Cause,” says, It might perhaps, be objected, to this important Principle, that it is not impossible an essential, and so far necessary, Emanation should acquire its Being independently of the Will, and yet not be self-existent. Thus *Heat* and *Light* are the necessary Emanations of the *hot* and *luminous* Bodies.

Let

Let us therefore consider this favourite Doctrine of the Son being a necessary Emanation of the Divinity, and we shall find it to be not only non-sensical but blasphemous. Because there is no such Thing in Nature as a necessary Emanation, or Motion, of any kind whatsoever ; for there can be no Motion without a Determination, and there can be no Determination without the preceding Action of some Intellect in willing or choosing that particular Determination. And when this Author says, *It is not impossible an essential, and so far necessary Emanation, should acquire its Being, independently of the Will*; he allows this necessary Emanation, before it is emanated, must first *acquire its being* independent on the Will. Now, does not the very Word *acquire* necessarily suppose the previous Operation of some Thought, Design, or Intellect, in order to *acquire*?

When we therefore say in common Speech, that such and such Agents are *necessary Agents*, it only means, that such and such Actions are necessary, or rather natural, with regard to such Agents ; but not that they are absolutely necessary with regard to God, on whose Will it depends whether these Agents shall operate after this Manner or not. Which is

finely and elegantly described by the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, when speaking of the Wonders which God wrought in Favour of the *Israelites*, he says, *For the Elements were changed in themselves by a kind of Harmony, like as in a Psaltery, Notes change the Name of the Tune, and yet are always Sounds, which may well be perceived by the Sight of the Things that have been done. For earthly Things were turned into watery, and the Things that before swam in Water, now went upon the Ground. The Fire had Power in the Water, forgetting its own Virtue: And the Water forgot its own quenching Nature. On the other Side, the Flames wasted not the Flesh of the corruptible living Things, though they walked therein; neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly Meat, that was of Nature apt to melt.* *Wisd. xix. 18—21.* And therefore we may fairly conclude, that nothing ever did, or ever will exist, beside the First Cause, independent of the Will of that First Cause.

And indeed, in my humble Opinion, it will be utterly impossible for any Person ever to prove the Son to have been a necessary Emanation; that is, a necessary-existent Being; without proving it at the same time
to

to have been a self-existent one. Because I take these Terms to be convertible ; and that this same Argument would prove the Son not to have been begotten by the Father ; since whatever is in itself necessary, cannot depend upon any thing else for its Origin, but must be *unoriginated* ; which is allowed by all to be the distinguishing Property of the Father. Which Method of reasoning will still be stronger against the Procession of the Holy Spirit ; since that must then be considered as the necessary Emanation of a necessary Emanation. And when once we begin to allow more necessities than one, where will all this end ?

In Answer to what the Author of the *Essay on Spirit* says, where he acknowledges that “ created Beings have no Right to divine Worship or Adoration on their own Account :” But says, “ When Angels are commissioned from God, with any Degree of Power over us, and are sent in his Name, then it cannot be Idolatry, to pay them such a Degree of Adoration, as is proportionate to the Authority with which they are invested : Because such Adoration or Worship, not being paid them on their own Account, but on Account of the
“ Autho-

“ Authority, which hath been delegated unto them, terminates in the One only and “ supreme God ;” this Author replies, *Yet it seems that in St. Paul’s Style, being idolatrous, and doing [religious] Service to them which by Nature are no Gods, are synonymous Expressions.* Gal. iv. 8.

I believe no one will deny, that the Gods which the Heathens worshiped were *Idols*, and their Service *idolatrous*. But I cannot here sufficiently lament the ill Treatment which the Scriptures of Truth meet with, when they light into indiscreet Hands, who do not consider their general Purport, but catch sometimes at a single Verse, and sometimes at a Part of a Verse ; which, without considering the Context, they wrest to their own Purposes ; as happens in the present Case, with regard to the above Quotation. For the Words of St. *Paul* are, *Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did Service unto them which by Nature are no Gods.* Where the Crime is, serving those which by Nature are no Gods, without a Commission from God for so doing : By which Means the Service did not terminate in the One only and true God. Which is the Crime that the Author of the *Essay* explains to be meant by St. *Paul*,
when

when he advises the *Colossians* against a *voluntary Humility and worshiping of Angels*, Col. ii. 18. as is fully expressed in the 84th and 86th Sect. of the *Essay*.

The Author of these Remarks so far indeed does Justice to the *Essay*, as to observe, the Author of the *Essay on Spirit* seems to have been led into this Enquiry “ through an apprehension, that the Doctrine of Christ’s suffering for us could not “ well take place, except the whole Christ, “ or Messiah, be acknowledged to have been “ capable of Suffering.” Whether this was his sole Motive or no, I cannot say; but this seems apparent to me, that neither the Objections of the *Jews*, *Deists*, nor *Socinians*, against the Satisfaction of Christ, can be thoroughly obviated on any other System but that of the whole *Christ* having suffered, as well in his Divine Nature, as his Humanity.

III.

The next Pamphlet is that which is entitled,

A Dissertation on the Scripture Expressions, The Angel of the Lord, &c. proving that the Word Angel is put to signify on these Occasions material Bodies, and not Spirit.

THE Author of which Pamphlet seems not to understand, either the Dispute which he boldly enters into, nor any thing else that I can discover. He advances, p. 5. " That though the Angel of the Lord is " expressly said to be the Lord himself, yet " the Word *Angel* notwithstanding plainly " points out something distinct from the " Lord." Again in p. 6. he says, " That " spiritual Beings, as they cannot possibly " be seen by mortal Eyes; in order to their " giving visible Tokens of their being pre- " sent with Mankind, it is necessary that " they should cloath themselves with *Matter* " of some kind or other." And in p. 7. he adds, " From all which it seems plainly " to appear, that whatsoever *Matter* the " *Deity*

“ *Deity* made use of at any Time, to give
 “ immediate Tokens of his Presence with
 “ the Fathers, as recorded in holy Writ,
 “ that *Matter* is there styled his Angel.”
 And p.8. he concludes, “ That as this *Matter*,
 “ when *occasionally*, and *for the present Time*,
 “ made use of by the *Deity*, is truly the
 “ Angel of the Lord ; so when it is *united*
 “ to, and *remains* ever after with it, it be-
 “ comes *the Son of God*.”

According to which Doctrine *the Son* is nothing but God the Father *manifested in the Flesh*. Which is downright *Sabellianism*, and which was therefore, by way of Derision, called the Doctrine of the *Son-Father*, and the Followers of it *Patro-Passians*. Because it would follow from thence, that as *Matter* cannot suffer, if Christ suffered for us, it must be the Father, according to this Doctrine, who suffered in the Person of the Son.

As to this Author's Explanation of the Word *Elohim*, there is nothing *new* in it, nor, if there was, would it be any thing to the Purpose. Since even the *Arians* allowed the Son to have existed before this World was, and to have been employed by God the Father in the Formation of it. Whereas
 the

the aforementioned Doctrine would destroy the Existence of the Son, before his being *united to Matter*, or born of the Virgin *Mary*.

But I will acknowledge, that the rest of his Observations are indeed *quite new*, as he emphatically expresseth it in his Title Page ; and verily believe they never entered into the Head of any one Man living, but his own. And indeed they are so new, that I think it would be a Pity to cut them off in the Bloom of their Infancy ; and therefore I am inclined to leave them to themselves, till they ripen into Rottenness.

This Author however in his Preface says,
 “ In treating of this Matter I have, as I
 “ think, gone a good Way towards proving
 “ that the Author of the *Essay* is not only
 “ *inconsistent*, but *insincere* : And it is no
 “ Wonder that he is charged with *Insincerity*, as he is so great an Advocate for it
 “ in his Address to the Lord Primate of
 “ *Ireland*. As for my Part, continues he,
 “ what I have offered comes from an honest
 “ Heart, and with a good Intention.” It
 seems that this Gentleman is forced to be his
 own Trumpeter. But why is the Author of
 the *Essay on Spirit*, not allowed to have the
 C same

same Honesty of Heart, and good Intention with this Author? And why is he taxed with *Inconsistency* and *Insincerity*? Is it because he desires in his Address to the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, that the Act of Uniformity may be rectified, which only requires our Assent and Consent *to the Use of* those Things which are contained in the Book of Common Prayer; whereas the Form of Declaration appointed to be read in the Church is so worded, as to make the Assent and Consent absolute? Which is a Matter of Fact that I think nobody has yet ventured to contradict. And if this be true, where then is the *Inconsistency* and the *Insincerity* to be charged?

Or is he to be reckoned *inconsistent* with himself, and *insincere*, because he has changed the Opinions which he was bred up with in his Youth; and owns that he has changed them? If this be what is meant by this Charge, it is the oddest Charge that ever was made against any one; since I always looked upon the public Acknowledgement of one's Errors, to be the strongest Proof that could be given of any Man's *Sincerity*; especially in a Case where such a Declaration was visibly opposite to the temporal Interest of the *Confessor*,

feſſor, and was likely to turn out to his Prejudice ; as hath probably happened in this very Inſtance : For I have been told, that a certain Biſhop in *Ireland* was ſet aſide lately from being made an Archbiſhop, only becauſe he was ſuſpected of being the Author of the *Eſſay on Spirit* ; although the Perſons who made the Objection, acknowledged that that he was in all other Reſpects the fitteſt Perſon for filling that Station.

Silly however and ſhallow as this *Differ-tation on the Scripture Exprefſion, The Angel of the Lord*, is, it was, ſoon after its publication here, reprinted in *Ireland* ; where, I hear, it was much admired by the orthodox Gentry of that Country, it having been there entitled, *An Answer to An Eſſay on Spirit, which is calculated to ſet aſide the Doctrin of the Trinity in Unity ; in a Diſſertation, &c.* Which, however, any one may eaſily ſee, was only a Piece of Bookſeller's Craft, to make the Pamphlet ſell.

IV.

The next Treatise, which comes under our Consideration, is Dean *Swift's* Sermon on the TRINITY; which, though not written as an Answer to the *Essay*, hath been lately reprinted in *Ireland* as such. From which Kingdom it was sent me some Months ago, with the following *Advertisement* printed on the Back of the Title Page.

Advertisement by the Editor. *Several Gentlemen of Abilities and Learning having undertaken to answer the Essay on Spirit, yet as their Labours will require Time and great Consideration, it is thought necessary, in the Interim, to republish the following Sermon (written by the late Dean Swift) which in some measure may serve as a fit Preservative against the evil Effects of that Treatise.*

WHAT put it into these Gentlemens Heads to imagine this Sermon of Dean *Swift's* would serve as a fit Preservative against

against the evil Effects of the *Essay on Spirit*, was, I suppose, the panegyrical Praises which Lord *Orrery* (in his Letters on the Life and Writing of Dean *Swift*) hath, in this one Part of his Book, where he is speaking of this Performance, lavishly spent on his FRIEND Dean *Swift*. But though I have little Opinion of the *Abilities* or *Learning* of such *Gentlemen*, as could place Dr. *Swift* in the Front of their Battle in a theological Dispute ; (who, though he was a Man of Parts and an excellent Pamphleteer, and was capable of putting the best Gloss on any Subject he took in hand, whether true or false, yet was far from being famous for his Learning in Divinity) nevertheless, it was in Expectation of some Production from this *able* and *learned* Club, that I have waited so many Months in hopes of meeting something material on this Subject ; but this Mountain having not yet brought forth any thing but this Mouse of an *Advertisement*, I do not think proper to wait any longer. And therefore I shall proceed to attack this their *Goliath*, with a few round Pebbles of Arguments, which I hope to sling so directly in his Face, that you will soon see him lying prostrate on the Ground.

Towards the Beginning of the Sermon the Dean has these Words : “ The Doctrine “ that is delivered in holy Scripture, although “ not exactly the same in Words, is very “ short, and amounteth only to this, That “ the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, “ are each of them God, and yet that there “ is but one God.” Then he proceeds to recount the Occasion upon which “ *those* “ *other Explanations in the Athanasian Creed*” were made : And that was, “ That about “ three hundred Years after Christ, there “ sprang up an Heresy of People called “ *Arians*, from one *Arius*, the Leader of “ them. *These*, says he, *denied our Saviour* “ *to be God.*” Than which nothing can be more false. For they acknowledged him to be God, though they did not allow him to be co-equal or co-eternal with God the Father, but they allowed him to be *God of God*, and to be the *Word*, the *Power*, and *Wisdom* of God, and every other Title that was given him in the Scriptures ; they also rejected all *those other Explanations* that were given of this Mystery by *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Athanasius* his Deacon. As any one may be convinced, who will but consult the Works of *Athanasius* upon this Head.

A short Account of which they will find, *Tom. 1. p. 895, 896. Par. Edit. 1698.* and to which I refer these *learned Gentlemen*, as distinctly as I can, lest they should not otherwise be able to find it out.

Which *other Explanations* the Dean rejects as well as *Arius*. For, speaking of the *Athanasian Creed*, the Dean says, “ This Creed is now read at certain Times in our Churches, which although it is useful for Edification to those who understand it, yet since it containeth some nice and philosophical Points, which few People can comprehend, the Bulk of Mankind is obliged to believe no more than the Scripture Doctrine as I have delivered it.” And if *the Bulk of Mankind are obliged to believe no more*, I desire to know, why the *Athanasian Creed* is appointed by the Rubric to be said by the People as well as by the Minister; and how this Exemption of the Bulk of Mankind, by the Dean, from believing it, can be reconciled with the Creed itself? Which begins with declaring, That EVERY ONE who doth not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, shall, without doubt, perish everlastingly: And asserts, towards the middle, that he that will be saved must thus think of

the Trinity: And concludes with saying, *This is the catholic Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.* So that if the positive Declarations contained in this Creed be true, the Bulk of Mankind, if they are *Men*, will certainly be damned if they do not believe it, any thing that the Dean says to the contrary notwithstanding.

As the Dean must certainly be allowed to be a great Joker, to have valued himself much on his Talent of *Irony*, and not to have spared even the most sacred Subjects, I own therefore, that when, speaking of the *Athanasian Creed*, he says, *Although it is useful for Edification to those who understand it*, I cannot help thinking that this was said by way of *sneer*, that he was then in a jibing Mood, and really and truly thought it unintelligible.

But take it which way you will, whether in Jest, or in Earnest, where is the *Consistency* or *Sincerity* in this Advice of the Dean to his Parishioners, who after solemnly repeating this Creed from the Desk, to which the *People*, as well as the *Minister*, are obliged to give their Assent under the Penalty of eternal Damnation, as soon as he gets into the Pulpit, tells them that they are not obliged to believe it?

Besides,

Besides, I desire to know, whether the Dean in this Sermon does not plainly shew himself to have been an *Arian*, if he durst but have owned it, when he absolves the Bulk of Mankind from believing the *nice* and *philosophical Points* contained in the *Athanasian Creed*, and requires their Assent only to that Creed which was drawn up by himself? Which *Arius* would have subscribed to as well as the Dean, as far as he was concerned in this Dispute; which, in his Time, only referred to the Divinity of the Father, and Son. For he acknowledged the Father to be God, and the Son to be God, and yet said there was but one God; and only found fault with the *other* unscriptural *Explanations* that were given of this Mystery by *Athanasius* and his Adherents.

Moreover does not the Dean's Argument, if it has any Force in it at all, likewise shew that no Man is, or can be, obliged to believe any thing he does not understand? and does not he assign this for the Reason why the Bulk of Mankind are not obliged to believe *the nice and philosophical Points* in the *Athanasian Creed*, because they cannot comprehend them? And what does the Author of the *Essay on Spirit* desire more, than that
the

the Bulk of Mankind should not be troubled with, or be obliged to give their Assent to the nice and philosophical Points in the *Athanasian* Creed, by having it made a Part of the public Service of the Church? And indeed he seems to be more cautious in framing Creeds than even the Dean himself; for he declares, that “as he is desirous, that no human Conjectures may be imposed on him, as of equal Authority with divine Revelation; so neither does he desire, that his Conjectures should be obtruded upon others.”

But to proceed with the Dean, “It must, says he, be allowed, that every Man is bound to follow the Rules and Directions of that Measure of Reason which God hath given him; and indeed he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere and act like a Man. For Instance: If I should be commanded by an Angel from Heaven to believe it is Midnight at Noon-day, yet I could not believe him: So if I was directly told in Scripture, that three are one and one is three, I could not conceive or believe it, in the natural, common Sense of that Expression; but must suppose that something dark or mystical was meant, which

“ which it pleased God to conceal from me,
 “ and all the World. Thus in the Text,
 “ *There are three that bear record in Hea-*
 “ *ven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy*
 “ *Ghost; and these three are one*; am I ca-
 “ pable of knowing and defining what *Union*
 “ and what *Distinction* there may be in the
 “ divine Nature, which possibly may be
 “ hid from the Angels themselves?”

Now if this be true, as I really think it is, how can any one vindicate that Explanation which is given of this Mystery in the *Athanasian* Creed, where this Union is asserted under the Penalty of eternal Damnation to those who will not believe it to be an Union in *Substance*, and the Distinction to be a Distinction in *Person*? or why should we pretend to *know* and *define* that *which may possibly be hid from the Angels themselves*?

Again, says the Dean, “ I see it plainly declared in Scripture, that there is but one God; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the Prerogative of knowing Mens Thoughts, “ in saying, *He and his Father are one.*” It must be acknowledged, that these Texts here quoted out of *John* x. 30. 1 *Joh.* v. 7. are those which are chiefly insisted on by the *Consubstantialists*; as well as the *Sabellians*,
 for

for their Opinion of the *Indivisible Unity of the Substance* of God between the three Persons in the Trinity ; for in this those two Sects exactly agree. But though I am far from desiring that any human explanations of these Texts should be reduced into the Form of a *Creed* ; yet if the Dean had been as good a Divine, as he was a Pamphleteer, he would have found out sufficient Reason, from parallel Passages in Scripture, to have interpreted this Unity, here spoken of in these Texts, as not consisting in an Unity of *Substance*, but in an Unity of *Interest*, or *Glory*, or *Happiness*, communicable to Mankind, as well as to the Son, and of which all good Christians are to be made Partakers at the last Day. For, says our Saviour, when praying to the Father in Favour of his Disciples, *Holy Father, keep through thine own Name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be ONE as we are one. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their Word ; that they all may be ONE, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be ONE in us : that the World may believe that thou hast sent me. And the GLORY which thou hast given me, I have given them ; that they may be ONE*
even

even as we are ONE. *I in thee, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in ONE*^a. Which *Unity* here spoken of, if it should be interpreted an *Unity of Substance*, what Blasphemy would it produce? And in the same Figure of Speech it is, that *he that planteth and he that watereth*, are, by St. Paul, said to be *one*^b; and that Man and Wife are said to be *one Flesh*^c; because their Interest is *one* and the same. Whereas if the Council of *Nice*, or all the Councils in *Christendom*, (and God knows there have been enough of them) had declared that this *one Flesh* was to be interpreted of *an indivisible Unity of Substance*, Dean *Swift* himself would have told his Parishioners, that they were not obliged to believe it.

Again, Dean *Swift* says, that “it is highly
 “probable, if God should please to *reveal*
 “unto us this great Mystery of the Trinity,
 “or some other Mysteries of our Religion,
 “we should not be able to *understand* them,
 “unless he would at the same Time think
 “fit to bestow on us some new Powers or
 “Faculties of the Mind, which we want at
 “present, and are reserved to the Day of

^a Joh. x. 30. xvii. 11, 21, 22, 23. See also, Joh. xi. 52. xiv. 2, 3. Col. iii. 4. 1 Joh. iii. 2. Phil. iii. 21. 1 Cor. xv. 49, &c. ^b 1 Cor. iii. 8. ^c Mat. xix. 5.

“ Resur-

“ Resurrection to Life eternal.” But has not God *revealed* it unto us? What is it that we know for certain concerning this great Mystery of the Trinity, but what God hath revealed unto us? I suppose therefore the Dean means, that if God should please *further* to reveal to us this great Mystery of the Trinity, or some other Mysteries of our holy Religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would at the same Time bestow on us some new Powers or Faculties. For it is plain, even from the Dean’s own Words, that unless these new Powers or Faculties were bestowed on us, even this further Revelation, would be no Revelation, *because we should not be able to understand it*; as nothing can be said to be *revealed* to any Man, but just so far as it is made intelligible to him. Suppose, for Example, one Person who could speak *Greek* attempted to *reveal* a Secret or a Mystery to another Person, who only understood *English*, could he be said to have *revealed* this Secret, or this Mystery to him, if he only spoke in *Greek*? By no means. The Secret, or Mystery, would remain still as unrevealed to that Person, as if the other had not spoke one Word. And therefore I cannot but, from this very Argument,

ment, conclude with the Author of the *Essay on Spirit*, that since our Belief in any Mystery can be no further required as necessary to Salvation, than in Proportion as that Mystery is revealed; no Man is, or can be, obliged to believe more of any Mystery than what is plainly revealed in such a Manner as that he may be able to comprehend it. And of Consequence, that all the Labour of *Athanasius* in his *nice* and *philosophical* Distinctions, and all his *other Explanations*, is only an Attempt to explain what is inexplicable; and to unfold a Mystery which we shall never be able to *understand*, till God shall think fit to bestow on us some new Powers, or Faculties of the Mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the Day of Resurrection to Life eternal.

But, says the Dean, “ It is an old and a
 “ true Distinction, that Things may be above
 “ our Reason, without being contrary to it.
 “ Of this kind are the Power, the Nature,
 “ and the universal Presence of God, with
 “ innumerable other Points.” Which however, with regard to our present Dispute, is a Distinction without a Difference. For though there is a Difference between Things *above* our Reason, and Things being *contrary*
 to

to our Reason, as we may believe the one, but cannot believe the other ; yet we cannot believe either the one or the other further than it is *revealed* unto us, and reduced to the Level of our Faculties, so as that we may comprehend it. As for Example, in the Instance above alledged, of the Omnipresence of God : In the *revealing* of which Doctrine to us, both Reason and Revelation agree, as to the Matter of Fact ; but as to the Manner *how*, as that neither hath been, nor can be, revealed unto us, till we have new Faculties of the Mind bestowed upon us ; it is therefore no Point of Faith, nor can the Belief of it be expected, or required from us.

But indeed the Dean says true, when he says, that this is an *old* Distinction, for it hath been made a thousand Times over by every Popish Writer, in Defence of the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* ; as well as by every Protestant Writer, in Defence of the *Athanasian* Doctrine of the Trinity. And therefore having shewed the *Dean* to have been an *Arian* in his Heart, if his Lordship of *Orrery*, or these *able* and *learned Gentlemen*, had but skill enough to have found it out ; I shall proceed to consider this old Distinction more thoroughly, which the

Dean, together with many others, seem to have made use of as a *Cover-flut*, wherewith to impose upon unwary Readers, and to prevent the inward Weakness of their other Arguments from being discovered.

Lord Bacon says, "A Christian is one that believes Things his Reason cannot comprehend.—He believes three to be one, and one to be three ; a Father not to be older than his Son ; a Son to be equal with his Father ; and one proceeding from both to be equal with both ; he believing three Persons in one Nature ; and two Natures in one Person." Whereas it ought to be considered, that there is a wide Difference between believing Matters of Fact, because they are *revealed*, and as far as they are *revealed*, though we cannot comprehend the manner *how*, as being above our Reason ; and believing those *other*, unrevealed, human, *Explanations*, which are given of the manner *how*, when they are contradictory to our Reason. And indeed Lord Bacon has here placed these Contradictions in so strong a Light as to incline one to think that he did not believe them, any more than Dean Swift : Though he is pleased to give the common Apology for believing them, for fear of giving

ing Offence to the Clergy of those days ; with whom he had too much Learning and too much Honesty to be a Favourite [1]. And to whose Influence with King *James* he probably owed his Disgrace ; and was pitched upon as a Scape-Goat to save the Head of *Buckingham*.

Dr. *Stebbing*, who is without doubt a zealous *Athanasian*, says, “ How three [he does not say what] “ as distinct in point of “ Agency, as *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, are “ distinct, should, by one common Principle of Existence, be one eternal God ; “ this exceeds the Measure of our finite Understandings to comprehend ; yet it is not “ therefore a Contradiction ; yet it is not “ therefore incredible.” If the Doctor means that *it is not therefore a Contradiction, because our finite Understandings cannot comprehend it*, he so far says true ; since there are undoubtedly many Points of Knowledge that are above our Capacities to comprehend, which are no Contradictions. But if he means that the Proposition here laid down is not a Contradiction, because we cannot comprehend it, he is in this greatly mistaken ;

[1] See Dr. *Shaw's* Note on Aphorism lxxxix. Sect. 31. in his Edition of *Bacon's* Works.

because

because we can comprehend enough of it positively to declare that it is a Contradiction. And if the Doctor had but inserted any one Noun-Substantive after the Adjective *three*, which he, as all the *Athanasians* carefully do, has disingenuously omitted, and without which the whole Sentence is Nonsense, he could not have avoided seeing the Contradiction, as well as pointing it out to others. For then every one, who was not out of his Senses, could not but see, that affirming *three eternal Gods*, or *three Agents*, or *three Beings*, or *three Intelligences*, &c. *who are as distinct in Point of Agency, as Peter, James, and John are distinct, to be, by one common Principle of Existence, the one eternal God*, or the one Agent, or the one Being, or the one Intelligence, &c. I say, he could not help seeing this to be a Contradiction; and, as the Dean expresseth it, *if he should be commanded by an Angel from Heaven to believe it, yet he could not believe it*. But surprizing it is what Pains some People will take to deceive themselves, as well as to impose upon others.

Dr. Berriman, another zealous *Athanasian*, in his *Historical Account of the Trinitarian Controversy*, being willing to apologize for

these Contradictions, when speaking of the *Praxean* or *Sabellian* Heresy, says, " These Heretics took away all real Distinction [of the Persons in the Trinity] lest they should divide the Substance. And had the Catholics conceived of them [*i. e.* of these Persons] as the *Arians* did afterwards, that they are Beings truly separate, they would have had no Difficulty in maintaining the Reality of their Distinction, and the Possibility of the one assuming human Nature without the other. But the Truth is, they were for preserving both; and therefore sometimes were at a loss for proper Words to express themselves in such a manner, as to avoid falling into either Extreme." And so they ever will be; since Nonsense will ever be at a loss for proper Words to express itself in such a manner, as to make it real Sense: Though it is no great Difficulty to cloath Nonsense in such a manner, by omitting the Noun-Substantives, or any other artful Method of Expression, as to make it to appear to incautious Readers something like Sense; whereas plain, sound, solid Sense can never want proper Words to express itself in.

But why did the Catholics run themselves into these Difficulties, rather than join with the *Arians* in asserting these Agents to be truly separate; since they are undoubtedly spoken of as such in the holy Scriptures, and are, according to Dr. *Stebbing*, there represented Beings as distinct, in point of Agency, as *Peter*, *James*, and *John* are distinct? And especially, since, according to Dr. *Berriman*, the System of the Christian Religion would by that means have been rendered intelligible; and the Catholics would then have found *no Difficulty in maintaining the Reality of the Distinction* between the Persons in the Trinity, *and the Possibility of the one assuming human Nature without the other*. Which ever has, and ever will continue to puzzle the Consubstantialists, and which Difficulty never can be removed while the *Unity* of the three Persons in the Trinity is declared to consist in an *Indivisibility of the Substance*.

But, says Dr. *Berriman*, *the Truth is, the Catholics were for preserving both*; that is, the Indivisibility of the Substance, along with the *Sabellians*; and the Difference of the Personality, along with the *Arians*. And why were they for preserving both, since the Scriptures, though they manifestly sepa-

rate the Persons, do not speak one Word about the Indivisibility of the Substance? The true Answer to which is, That this was a Jobb, in which the temporal Interest of some of the leading Persons in the Churches of *Rome* and *Alexandria* were concerned; and, to the carrying on of which, Religion was only made use of as a Stalking-Horse.

V.

The Author of the Letter to Mr. Urban, in the Gentleman's Magazine of June, 1752, in Answer to the Essay on Spirit, says,

THAT the principal Arguments in the *Essay* have been discussed, and answered in *Knight's*, *Berriman's*, *Ridley's*, and *Bishop's*, *Meyre's-Lectures*; whereas I take upon me to assert with the same Positiveness, that they are not. So that here is Assertion for Assertion. But, with Regard to Dr. *Berriman* in particular, I have already quoted one Passage out of his *historical Account of the Trinitarian Controversy*; and I leave the Reader to judge whether, when it is duly considered, it be of any Service to the *Athanasian*

nasian side of the Question. And with regard to the History of this Dispute between *Arius* and *Athanasius*, as related by Dr. *Berriman*, I do affirm that he is much mistaken in it; this Author, as well as his Answerer Mr. *Chandler*, taking every thing for granted which he finds in the Works of *Athanasius*, or the subsequent Ecclesiastical Historians. Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his fourth Letter *On the Study and Use of History*, speaking of those Calumnies which have been invented by the Corrupters of Ecclesiastical History, to blast the Reputation of those who differ in Opinion from them, says, that “*Relandus* has published a very valuable Treatise to refute some of those Calumnies and justify the *Mahometans*.” And then adds: “Does not this Example incline your Lordship to think that the Heathens, and the *Arians*, and other Heretics, would not appear quite so absurd in their Opinions, nor so abominable in their Practice, as the Orthodox, Christians have represented them; if some *RELANDUS* would arise, with the materials, necessary to their Justification, in his Hands?” Now this is what hath been done by a Friend of mine, as far as relates to the Calumnies cast upon the *Arians* by *Athana-*

Jus, who has kept this Treatise some Years by him, but whom I hope to prevail upon in Time to publish it; whence will appear, that that Part of our Ecclesiastical History, which relates to the Dispute between the *Arians* and *Atbanasians*, is little better than an Heap of Falsities and Forgeries.

This Letter-writer likewise says, that the Controversy between the *Arians* and *Atbanasians* was fully discussed in *England*, between the Years 1712 and 1730. Which I, with the same Positiveness, take the Liberty to deny. Because that Dr. *Clarke*, who was the principal Person concerned on the *Arian* side of the Question, by endeavouring to compound Matters, did great Injustice to the *Arian* Scheme, and by that means gave his Adversary, Dr. *Waterland*, such Advantages over him, as he never was able to get the better of.

But indeed the Letter-Writer, when he comes to deliver his own Sentiments, speaks more ingenuously, when he says, “ The
 “ *Sabellians* and *Socinians* maintain it [the
 “ Divine Unity] in such Terms as exclude
 “ all Distinction of *Persons* in the Godhead,
 “ and treat the *Logos* and *Holy Spirit* as At-
 “ tributes only of the one God, or as diffe-
 “ rent

"rent Manners of Operation, not allowing
 "them any real Existence." Where it is to
 be observed, that this Author, in this Place,
 makes use of the Word *Persons*, to denote
 two or three real separate and distinct Agents.
 Which is undoubtedly true of the *Sabellians*,
 who, denying the Father, Son, and Holy
 Spirit, to be three separate and distinct
 Agents or Persons, supposed them all three
 to be one and the same undivided Substance,
 Subsistence, Being, or Godhead, acting un-
 der the three different Characters, or Per-
 sonages, or Operations, or Attributes, of
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But, con-
 tinues our Author, "The *Arians* assert their
 "PERSONAL distinct Existence, but esteem
 "them only as created Spirits of the highest
 "Order. The *Athanasians* do not admit
 "the separate Existence of the *Logos* and
 "*Holy Spirit*, nor their Creation; but, as-
 "serting the Unity of the Godhead, main-
 "tain that it subsists under some Distinctions,
 "which are expressed in Scripture by the
 "*Son, and Holy Spirit*." And so did the
Sabellians. I should therefore be glad to be
 informed wherein this *Distinction* consisted.
 Why, says our Author, *in a Distinction*
without a Division. But he should rather
 have

have said, in a Distinction without a Difference. For if, according to the *Athanasian* Scheme, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one undivided Substance, the Distinction that is made between them can only be characteristical or nominal, or, as this Author explaineth it, in being *expressed in Scripture by the SON and HOLY SPIRIT*. The Author of the *Essay on Spirit* hath shewed, that the Word *Person* is an ambiguous Word; and is sometimes used to signify a separate and distinct Agent, and sometimes to signify the same Agent under a different Character or Personage: As for Example, when the same real Person is considered as a Father or as a Son, as a General or as a Soldier, as a Friend or as an Enemy; which makes no real *Distinction* in the *Person*, properly speaking, but in the *Personage*; he being all this time one and the same Person. And yet this of a Personage must be the Sense in which this Word *Person* must be understood in the *Athanasian* Creed; when the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are said to be three *Persons*. So that when the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are declared by the *Athanasians* to be the same God, or the same, one, undivided Person in Reality, and that
the

the Persons in the Trinity differ only from one another in the Personage, or Character, I own I do not see any Difference between that and the Doctrine of *Sabellius*. And therefore I am persuaded upon this account, as well as some others, at present too tedious to be mentioned, but which will some time or other be produced, that *Athanasianism* is nothing else but *Sabellianism* disguised.

But, continues our Letter-Writer, "Such personal Operations and Attributes, are in Scripture ascribed to each [of the Persons in the Trinity] as would be sufficient to persuade that they were three separate Existences equally divine, if the strong and repeated Assertions of the Unity of the divine Nature did not oblige to the contrary." And why all this? Where is the Necessity, because all these three Persons have divine Operations attributed to them in the Scripture, that therefore they must all be EQUALLY *divine*? When the Son is universally allowed to have been *sent* by the Father; and to have been begotten by the Father; whereas the Father is never sent, nor was ever begotten. Are these Operations, then, or Attributes, that denote an Equality? Or why must it infringe upon the Divine
Unity

Unity to have divine Operations attributed to the Son and Holy Spirit, provided that the Son and Holy Spirit are supposed to act in Subordination to God the Father? Because, says our Author, "every other Principle must lead to *Tritheism* or *Sabelianism*." I have somewhere read, that Superstition is Religion scared out of its Senses; and, in like manner, our Author seems to be frightened out of his Wits at the Word *Tritheism*; as if the Word *Jehovah*, or *Elohim*, or *Theos*, or *God*, might not be applied, without Blasphemy, to other Beings beside the supreme God. We cannot indeed say, without Blasphemy, that there are three Gods, all co-equal in Power and co-eternal in Existence with the supreme God; but we may, without incurring the Crime of Blasphemy, assert, that there may be three, or three hundred Gods appointed to preside over Mankind, with a delegated Power from the one supreme God, to whom our Obedience would be due in Proportion to the Extent of Power delegated to them. *Behold*, says God to *Moses*, *I have made thee a God to Pharaoh*; and does this make *Moses* equal to the supreme God? Again, *Moses* says, when the Angel caused
 Brimstone

Brimstone and Fire to come down from Heaven on *Sodom and Gomorrah*, that **JEHOVAH** *rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from* **JEHOVAH** *out of Heaven.* And does this necessarily make the *Jehovah* that was on Earth, equal to the *Jehovah* that was in Heaven? or does it not rather shew the contrary, by representing him as having acted by a delegated Power?

When this same Objection was made by the *Jews* to our Saviour, who charged him with Blasphemy, and were going to kill him, because he said that *God was his Father*, whereby the *Jews* imagined that he made himself **EQUAL** with God, he renounces the Charge by denying the Consequence; and shews the Inequality there was betwixt them, by declaring, that *the Son can do nothing of himself*; but that *all Judgment was COMMITTED unto the Son, that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father*: Plainly intimating, that this Judgment and this Honour was committed unto him. And when he adds, *I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge: and my Judgment is just, because I seek not mine own Will, but the Will of my Father which*
hath

hath sent me [2]; does he not plainly declare, that his being *the Son of God* did by no means include his being *equal* to the Father? And again, when the *Jews* charged him with Blasphemy for saying that he was *the Son of God*, and that *he and the Father are one*; Jesus answered them and said, *Is it not written in your Law, I said ye are Gods? If he called them Gods, unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scriptures cannot be broken: say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the World, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God* [3]. The Force of which Argument is this, that if the Appellation of *Gods* was given to those Persons *to whom the Word of God came*, and yet did not make them *equal* to the Father; a Title of less Dignity, such as that of being *the Son of God*, ought by no means to be looked upon as Blasphemy. St. Paul says, that *though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, as there be Gods many and Lords many, yet to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him* [4].

[2] Joh. v. 18—30.

[3] Joh. x. 30—36.

[4] 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

That

That is, though there be many that are called *Gods* and *Lords*, yet, strictly speaking, there is but one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ.

And when St. *Paul* says, as this Author properly explains his Words, that the " Title " of Son is so expressly said to be peculiar to " him [Jesus] as never to have been given " to any of the Angels in the same Sense it " was given to him," does not the Apostle, in the same Chapter, apply to the Son that Expression of *David's*, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever ; a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom : thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity ; therefore God, EVEN THY GOD, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows* [5]. In which Text, at the same time that the Title of *God* is given to the Son, yet God the Father is said to be *even his God*. And does not this plainly shew an Inequality and Subordination of the Godhead of the Son to the Godhead of the Father ?

And when it is declared, that the Son was sent into this World *to do the Will of the Father*, can *he that is sent* be said to be equal *to him that sent him* ? When it is said, that it

[5] Heb. i. 5, 8, 9.

was *by the Son* that God the Father *made the Worlds* [6]; or, when it is said, that all Power in Heaven and in Earth was *given* to the Son, must not he that employs, or he that gives, be superior to him that is employ'd, or him to whom it is given? Or, lastly, when it is said, that *all Things are put under him*, ought we not to say in the Language of St. Paul, *It is manifest he must be excepted that did put all Things under him* [7]?

But our Letter-writer proceeds, and says,
 “ For my own Part I should think, that
 “ there is ample Proof in Scripture, that
 “ there are three Gods numerically distinct,
 “ if, at the same Time, I did not find my-
 “ self obliged by other clear Texts, to ac-
 “ knowledge the divine Unity. How to
 “ reconcile these different, but, I am sure,
 “ not contradictory Positions of Scripture,
 “ but on the *Athanasian* Principles, I know
 “ not.” Whereas had this unknowing Gentleman but consulted his Friend Dr. *Berriman*, he would have told him the direct contrary; and that the Unity of the God-head, and the numerical Distinction of the three Persons, was only to be reconciled on the *Arian* Principles; by supposing that the

[6] Heb. i. 1, 2. [7] 1 Cor. xv. 27.

three Persons in the Trinity are three separate and distinct Persons, of which the Son and Holy Spirit are dependent and subordinate to God the Father. For, says he, “ had the Catholics considered of them “ (*i. e.* of these Persons) as the *Arians* did “ afterwards, that they are Beings truly separate, they would have had no Difficulty in maintaining the Reality of their “ Distinction, and the Possibility of the “ one assuming human Nature without the “ other.”

As to what this Author says in relation to the Angel *Gabriel*, the Author of the *Essay on Spirit* does by no means insist upon his Opinion in that Particular as an Article of Faith, but only as a Probability ; which I cannot see how the Argument made use of by the Letter-writer invalidates in the least ; that there may be ten thousand times ten thousand *holy Spirits* in the Presence of God, is not to be denied, and yet *Gabriel* may be that *holy Spirit* or Angel of his Presence which the Almighty may think proper to employ in this terrestrial Globe.

And as to what this Author says in the Conclusion of his Letter, that “ there is a “ marginal Citation in the Essay from Bishop

“ *Bull*; but that the Bishop’s real Sentiments are not truly represented in it, may be seen by comparing it with Sect. 9. of the *Proœmium* to his *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*.” The Citation from Bishop *Bull*, I must acknowledge, is in the Margin, but the Translation of it is in the Text; and whether that be not a faithful and just Translation is left to the Judgment of every one who understands *Latin*. And as I apprehend that no one will venture to say it is not, how can Bishop *Bull*’s Meaning be said to have been misrepresented? If Bishop *Bull* is of a contrary Opinion in his *Proœmium* of his *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, to what he is in the aforementioned Quotation, it is the Business of his Friends to reconcile his Inconsistencies, but not of the Author of *the Essay*.

But after all, if these things are so difficult to be determined, why is either the *Arian* or *Atbanasian* Principles made a Rule of Faith? Why is any thing inserted in our Creeds as an Article of Faith, which is not plainly and clearly revealed in those sacred Writings? But above all, why is the temporal Sword called in to aid the spiritual, in the Determination of such metaphysical Niceties?

ties? If it be not in order to drive conscientious Men out of the Pale of the Church, that others of less Sense, or fewer Scruples, might get into their Places. Which actually happened to be the Case when this Doctrine was first *established* in the Christian Church; for, in less than half a Century afterwards, by the prevailing Arguments of *Excommunications, Depositions, and Banishments*, there was not one single Person left in any ecclesiastical Preferment, who was not known to think on the *Arian* side of the Question.

And is not this the very thing which has irritated, at this present time, those minor Scriblers of *the Northern Creed*, and the *Modern Preface*, &c. those buzzing Insects of a Day, to venture Pen to Paper against the Author of the *Essay on Spirit*, for asserting, that it is the Intent of the Act of Uniformity, only to require our Assent and Consent to *the Use of* those Things that are contained in the Book of Common Prayer; and for desiring, that the Form of the Declaration which is appointed to be read by the Minister, may be made conformable to the Intent of the Act? Because this would widen the Pale of the Church, and let in more Candidates for Preferment: Whereas

such Animals as these can never hope to rise, but by the Dint of such Subscriptions, as would drive every body out of the Church, who had Sense enough to find any Errors in the Establishment, and Honesty enough to own it; though they are at the same time willing, in Obedience to the Legislative Powers, to submit to the Use of such Things as are ordained by it, till they shall be amended by the same Authority.

And from the same Spirit of Persecution and Ignorance, it proceeds, that others want to have the Author of the *Essay on Spirit* either resign his Preferment, or be made to do it; and would, if they could, call the temporal Magistrate in to their Assistance; well knowing, that, when the *Argumentum Baculinum* comes in Play, they who have the hardest Heads will have the Advantage. Whereas, in my humble Opinion, it would be much more fitting for some of these *able and learned Gentlemen* to keep their Promise, and answer the *Essay* as Christian Clergymen should, with Learning and Moderation; than, as St. *Dominic* or Bishop *Bonner* would, with Fire and Faggot. But this is not their Purpose. The Defence of Truth is not what they aim at, but the Defence of the
Establish-

Establishment. And accordingly I do not find that any of these orthodox Gentry have yet undertaken to answer Lord *Bolingbroke's* Objections to the *Magna Charta* of their Religion, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; for if they can but preserve their Subscriptions and good Livings, they care not what becomes of Christianity.

And now having given some Reply to all the Answers which have hitherto appeared against the *Essay on Spirit*, and especially to that *Goliath* of *Gath* whom the *Philistines* sent out to defy the Armies of the living God; and having cut off his Head with his own Sword, I shall proceed to give you an Antidote to all that ever shall appear. And in this I shall not barely rely upon my own Judgment, but shall refer the Reader to the Judgment of no less a Person than St. *Justin*, that famous Philosopher, Apologist and Martyr for the Christian Religion, who flourished about 150 Years after the Birth of our Saviour, and wrote several Treatises in Vindication of the Christian Religion, and among the rest one consisting of two Parts, which is entitled, *A Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*; in which having asserted, that *Jesus Christ*, before he was born in the Flesh, was that

Angel of the Covenant which appeared to *Moses* and the Patriarchs, then he makes *Trypho* say, " O Man ! it had been better
 " for us to have obeyed our Rabbins, who
 " command us to have no Correspondence
 " or Communication with such Persons as
 " you, who have spoken so many Blasphemies ; endeavouring to persuade us, that
 " this crucified Person was with *Moses* and
 " *Aaron*, and spoke to them out of the Pillar
 " of Fire, and afterwards was made Man,
 " and suffered on the Cross, and ascended
 " into Heaven, and is again to appear upon
 " Earth, and be the Object of our Adoration."

" To which answering, I said, I know,
 " though this is the Word of God, that the
 " great Wisdom of the omnipotent God, the
 " Creator of all Things, is hidden from you.
 " Wherefore, pitying your Condition, I am
 " willing to take pains that you may understand those Things which you declare
 " contrary to your Belief : But should I fail
 " therein, I shall nevertheless discharge my
 " own Conscience, that I may be acquitted
 " at the Day of Judgment."—

Then after *Justin* had quoted the cxlvth Psalm, and some other Texts of Scripture, in

Proof of what he had advanced, *Trypho* says again, " We have heard what you say ; but " I desire you will return from whence you " digressed. For it seems wonderful to me ; " and a Thing which cannot be proved. " Since, as to what you say, that this Christ " was God before all Ages, and that he was " afterwards born and made Man, and not " as one Man that is begotten by another ; " this seems not only wonderful, and beyond " Belief, but to be absurd."

" To which I answered, I know that such " Doctrine seems incredible to those of your " Nation in particular, who neither understand, nor act according to the Will of " God, but according to the Traditions of " your Rabbins, as God himself hath declared. Nevertheless, *Trypho*, what I have " chiefly asserted is true, *viz.* that this is the " *Christ* of God ; And though I should not " be able to prove that he was God, as being " first the Son of the Creator of this Universe, " and afterwards was made Man as being " born of a Virgin ; yet forasmuch as it manifestly appears that he is the *Christ* of God, " whoever he was ; although, I say, I should " not be able to prove his prior Existence, " and that he afterwards subsisted as Man,

“ with Passions like unto ours, being made
 “ Flesh by the Will of the Father, it is but
 “ equitable to say, I was so far in an Error,
 “ but not to deny that he was the *Christ*,
 “ though he seemed apparently to be born as
 “ Man from Man, and to have been made
 “ *Christ* by Election. Since there are some
 “ even among ourselves who allow him to
 “ be *Christ*, and yet assert him to have been
 “ nothing more than Man born from Man.
 “ With whom I cannot agree, though there
 “ be many that do not hold with me therein,
 “ for as much as we are ordered by *Christ*
 “ not to regard the Doctrines of Men, but
 “ those which were delivered by the Pro-
 “ phets, and confirmed by *Christ*.”

“ And truly, says *Trypho*, they who affirm
 “ that he was born as other Men, and that
 “ he was inaugurated by Election, and made
 “ *Christ* by being anointed thereunto, seem
 “ to say what is more probable than what
 “ you assert. For we all suppose *Christ* to
 “ be a Man born of Man, and look for *Elias*
 “ to come first in order to anoint him.”

Then after some Discourse about *Elias*,
 and the second Coming of *Christ*, *Trypho*,
 after acknowledging *Justin* to be well versed
 in the Scriptures, says, “ But answer me,
 “ How

“ How can you prove that there is *another*
 “ *God beside the Creator of all Things* [8],
 “ and that he submitted to be born of a Vir-
 “ gin?” To which *Justin* replies, “ Permit
 “ me first to say something more out of the
 “ Prophecies of *Isaiab* concerning *John* the
 “ Baptist, who was the Forerunner of *Christ*,”
&c. Which when he had done, *Trypho*
 reminds him of the Difficulty he had before
 started, and desires him to prove “ that *ano-*
 “ *ther God beside the Creator of all things* [9]
 “ was promulgated by the Prophets.” To
 “ which *Justin* answers, “ Listen then to
 “ what I shall produce out of the holy Scrip-
 “ tures, which is so plain as to stand in need
 “ of little Explanation, and requires only your
 “ Attention.

“ *Moses*, the blessed and faithful Minister
 “ of God, mentions that God appeared unto
 “ *Abraham* near the Oak at *Mamre*, toge-
 “ ther with the two Angels which were sent,
 “ to execute the Judgement upon *Sodom*, from
 “ ANOTHER GOD who always remains above
 “ the Heavens, and cannot be seen, nor ever
 “ speaks by himself to any one; whom we
 “ all know to be the Creator and Father of

[8] Ἄλλος θεὸς παρὰ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων.

[9] Ἐτερος θεὸς παρὰ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων.

“ all

" all Things. For so say the Scriptures:
 " *And the Lord appeared unto him at the Oak*
 " *of Mamre, and he sat in the Tent Door in*
 " *the Heat of the Day. And he lift up his*
 " *Eyes and looked; and lo, three Men stood by*
 " *him; and when he saw them, he ran to meet*
 " *them from the Tent Door, and bowed him-*
 " *self towards the Ground* [1]. And so on,
 " till it is said that *Abraham gat up early in*
 " *the Morning, to the place where he stood be-*
 " *fore the Lord; and he looked towards So-*
 " *dom and Gomorrah, and towards all the*
 " *Land of the Plain, and behold, and lo,*
 " *the Smoke of the Country went up as the*
 " *Smoke of a Furnace* [2]. And having
 " omitted the intermediate Passages, I asked
 " if they remembered them, which they
 " said they did, but that they could not per-
 " ceive how the Passages alluded to did prove
 " that there was another God, or Lord, be-
 " sides the Creator of the Universe; or that
 " it was so declared by the Holy Spirit.

" To which I answered: Now then I will
 " endeavour to convince you, who remem-
 " ber the Scriptures, that what I said is true,
 " viz. that there is *another who is God and*

[1] Gen. xviii. 1, 2, 3.

[2] Gen. xix. 27, 28.

" *Lord*

“ *Lord besides the Creator of the Universe* [3];
 “ who also is called an Angel, or Messenger,
 “ because he carries those Messages to Man-
 “ kind, which it is the Will of the Creator
 “ of the Universe, above whom there is no
 “ other God, should be declared unto them.
 “ And then repeating what I had before said,
 “ I asked *Trypho*; Do you apprehend that
 “ God was seen at the Oak of *Mamre* by
 “ *Abram*, as the Scriptures declare? To
 “ which he answered; Undoubtedly. And,
 “ says I, Does not the Spirit of Prophecy de-
 “ clare, that this God was one of the three
 “ who appeared to *Abram* in the Shape of
 “ Men? To which he said, No. But that
 “ God was seen by *Abram* before the three
 “ Men appeared; and then the three Angels,
 “ whom the Scriptures call Men, made
 “ themselves visible: Two of which being
 “ sent to the Destruction of *Sodom*, one re-
 “ mained that he might declare the accept-
 “ able Tidings to *Sarah*, on which he was
 “ sent, that she should bring forth a Son;
 “ which having done he departed.”

“ How then, said I, came it to pass,
 “ when one of the three, who were in the

[3] Θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἕτερος παρὰ τὴν ποιήσιν τῶν ὧν.

“ Tent,

“Tent, and who said, *At the Time ap-*
 “*pointed I will return unto thee, and Sarah*
 “*shall have a Son* [4], returned afterwards
 “on Sarah's being brought to Bed, that the
 “Word of Prophecy should declare him to
 “be God? But that what I say may mani-
 “festly appear to be true, hear what *Moses*
 “positively says; *And Sarah saw the Son of*
 “*Hagar, the Egyptian, which she had born*
 “*to Abraham, playing with Isaac her Son,*
 “*wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out*
 “*this Bond-woman and her Son; for the Son*
 “*of this Bond-woman shall not be Heir with*
 “*my Son Isaac. And the Thing was grievous*
 “*in Abraham's Sight, because of his Son.*
 “*And God said unto Abraham, Let it not*
 “*be grievous in thy Sight because of the Lad,*
 “*and because of the Bond-woman: in all that*
 “*Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her*
 “*voice; for in Isaac shall thy Seed be called* [5].
 “Then said I, Do you apprehend that he
 “who said at the Oak that he would return,
 “as he forsook would be necessary, that he
 “might give this Advice to *Abraham* with
 “regard to his Behaviour to *Sarah*, did
 “return as it is written, and was *God*, as
 “the Scriptures declare, which run thus:

[4] Gen. xviii. 14. [5] Gen. xxi. 9, 10, 11, 12.

“ *And*

“ And God said unto Abraham, *Let it not*
 “ *be grievous in thy Sight, because of the Lad*
 “ *and because of the Bond-woman?*

“ Then said *Trypho*; Undoubtedly. But
 “ however you have not proved by this that
 “ there is another God beside the one which
 “ appeared to *Abraham*, and was seen by the
 “ Patriarchs and Prophets. But this I own
 “ you have proved, that we were mistaken
 “ when we imagined the three that were in
 “ the Tent with *Abraham* were all of them
 “ Angels. Then said I again, If I cannot
 “ convince you out of the holy Scriptures
 “ that one of those three was called God,
 “ and was also called an Angel, because, as
 “ I before observed, he was sent to declare
 “ the Will of that God who is the Creator
 “ of the Universe, then it is but reasonable
 “ that you should suppose him who appeared
 “ to *Abraham* upon Earth in the Form of a
 “ Man, together with the two Angels that
 “ came along with him, to be the God who
 “ existed before this World was made, as
 “ all your Nation have imagined him to
 “ be.”

“ And truly so we do, said *Trypho*. Then
 “ said I; Now therefore I shall from the
 “ Scriptures endeavour to shew you, that
 “ he,

“ he, who is said to have appeared to *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, and is therein called God, is another from that God who created all Things; NUMERICALLY I say another, though not in Will [6]. For I allow he never did any thing but what that God, who made the World, and above whom there is no other God, willed that he should both do and say [7].

“ Then said *Trypho* : This then you must prove, that we may give our Assent to you; for we do not suspect that you would assert he either said or did any thing contrary to the Will of that God who created all Things. Then said I, The Scriptures, as I said before, will make this manifest unto you. The Words of which run thus : *The Sun was risen upon the Earth when Lot entered into Zoar, and the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from the Lord out of Heaven.*

[6] “*Ἐλεγός ἐστι τὸ τὰ πάντα ποιήσαντος θεοῦ, ἀριθμῶ λέγω, ἀλλὰ ἔν γνώμῃ. Alius ab eo Deo qui cuncta creavit; numero dico, sed non voluntate.* Than which there cannot be a stronger Expression in Words to denote that *Justin* considered God the Father, and God the Son, as two different and distinct Beings.

[7] See John v. 19, 20. 30. vi. 38. iv. 34. ix. 49.

“ *And*

“ *And he overthrew all the Cities, and all the Plain* [8].

“ Then said the fourth of those Persons, who were along with *Trypho*. Is it necessary to say that that God which appeared to *Abraham*, and whom *Moses* in the Scriptures calls *Lord*, is different from that God who created all Things ?

“ Certainly, said I : And that not only on Account of what hath been said, but also because he is by the Holy Spirit said to be *another Lord besides him whom we understand to have been the Parent of all Things* [9], not only in the Works of *Moses*, but also of *David*, who says, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my Right-hand, until I make thine Enemies thy Footstool* [1]. And again he says, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever ; the Sceptre of thy kingdom is a right Sceptre. Thou lovest Righteousness and hatest Iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows* [2]. Tell me therefore now, whether you assert that the Holy Spirit gives the Appellation of God

[8] Gen. xix. 23, 24, 25.

[9] παρὰ τὸν νοούμενον ποιῆσιν τῶν ὅλων ἄλλος τις κυριολογεῖται.

[1] Psal. cx. 1.

[2] Psal. xlv. 6, 7.

“ and Lord to any one else besides the Father
 “ of all Things and his *Christ* : For I under-
 “ took only to prove out of the sacred Scrip-
 “ tures, that one of those two Angels which
 “ descended was not he whom the Scripture
 “ calls Lord, but he who was seen along
 “ with them by *Abraham*, and is called
 “ God.”

“ Then said *Trypho* ; Prove what you ad-
 “ vanced : For as to us, we, you see, are
 “ not prepared to enter into any such adven-
 “ turous Disquisitions ; having never before
 “ heard any one either reasoning or disputing
 “ upon this Subject. Nor indeed should we
 “ bear with you, unless your Proofs were
 “ all brought out of the Scriptures, and that
 “ you acknowledged that there was no God
 “ above him who is Creator of the Uni-
 “ verse.”

“ Then said I, You know the Scripture
 “ saith, *And the Lord said unto Abraham,*
 “ *Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I*
 “ *of a Surety bear a Child, who am old ? Is*
 “ *any thing too hard for the Lord ? at the*
 “ *Time appointed I will return unto thee, ac-*
 “ *cording to the Time of Life, and Sarah shall*
 “ *have a Son* [3]. And a little afterwards,

[3] Gen. xviii. 13, 14.

“ *And*

“ *And the Men rose up from thence, and*
 “ *looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah, and*
 “ *Abraham went with them to bring them*
 “ *out on the Way. And the Lord said, Shall I*
 “ *bide from Abraham that Thing which I*
 “ *do [4] ?”* And a little after it saith again,
 “ *And the Lord said, Because the Cry of So-*
 “ *dom and Gomorrah is great, and because*
 “ *their Sin is very grievous, I will go down*
 “ *now and see whether they have done altoge-*
 “ *ther according to the Cry of it, which is*
 “ *come unto me ; and if not, I will know. And*
 “ *the Men turned their Faces from thence,*
 “ *and went towards Sodom : but Abraham*
 “ *stood yet before the Lord. And Abraham*
 “ *drew near and said, Wilt thou also destroy*
 “ *the righteous with the wicked [6] ?”* And
 “ so on ; for it is not necessary to say the
 “ same Things over again, but only to refer
 “ to such Parts as may serve to convince
 “ Trypho and his Friends. Then I proceed-
 “ ed as follows, *And the Lord went his Way*
 “ *as soon as he had left communing with A-*
 “ *braham ; and Abraham returned to his own*
 “ *Place. And there came two Angels to So-*
 “ *dom at Even ; and Lot sate in the Gate of*
 “ *Sodom. And so on, till it comes to, But*

[4] Gen. xviii. 16, 17. [5] Gen. xviii. 20, — 23.

“ the Men put forth their Hand, and pulled
 “ Lot into the House, and shut to the Door.
 “ And so forth, till it is said, *And while he*
 “ *lingred, the Angels laid hold upon his Hand,*
 “ *and upon the Hand of his Wife, and upon*
 “ *the Hand of his two Daughters ; the Lord*
 “ *being mercyfull unto him. And they brought*
 “ *him forth, and set him without the City.*
 “ *And it came to pass when they had brought*
 “ *them forth abroad, they said, Escape for thy*
 “ *Life : Look not behind thee, neither stay thou*
 “ *in all the Plain : Escape to the Mountain,*
 “ *lest you be consumed. And Lot said unto*
 “ *them, Oh not so, my Lord, behold now thy*
 “ *Servant hath found Grace in thy Sight, and*
 “ *thou hast magnified thy Mercy, which thou*
 “ *hast shewed unto me, in saving my Life :*
 “ *and I cannot escape to the Mountain, lest*
 “ *some Evil take me and I die. Behold this*
 “ *City is near to flee unto, and it is a little*
 “ *one ; Oh let me escape thither, (is it not a*
 “ *little one ?) and my Soul shall live. And*
 “ *he said unto him, see, I have accepted thee*
 “ *concerning this Thing also, that I will not*
 “ *overthrow this City, for the which thou hast*
 “ *spoken. Hastie thee, escape thither ; there-*
 “ *fore the Name of the City was called Zoar.*
 “ *Then the Sun was risen upon the Earth,*
 “ *when*

“ *when Lot entered Zoar. And THE LORD*
 “ *rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah*
 “ *Brimstone and Fire FROM THE LORD OUT*
 “ *OF HEAVEN. And he overthrew all those*
 “ *Cities and all the Plain* [6].

“ And here stopping, I then proceeded
 “ again, and said; Do you understand now,
 “ my Friends, that one of these three, who
 “ was called both God and Lord, and was
 “ Lord of the two Angels, was only the
 “ *Minister* of the Lord which is in Heaven?
 “ For when they went to *Sodom*, he being
 “ left with *Abraham* spoke those Things to
 “ him which are mentioned by Moses, and
 “ that *When he went away Abraham returned*
 “ *to his Place.* And when he came to *So-*
 “ *dom*, then it was not the two Angels that
 “ conversed with *Lot*, but he alone, as the
 “ Words plainly shew. And this is the
 “ Lord who received Power from the Lord
 “ in Heaven, who is the Creator of all
 “ Things, to inflict those Evils on *Sodom*
 “ and *Gomorrah* as the Words themselves
 “ denote, saying, *And the Lord rained upon*
 “ *Sodom and upon Gomorrah Brimstone and*
 “ *Fire from the Lord out of Heaven.*

“ Then said *Trypho*, That the Scriptures

[6] Gen. xix. 1—25.

“ oblige us to confess thus much is suffi-
 “ ently apparent ; but you must also allow
 “ that it is then difficult to explain how he
 “ could eat those Things which were set be-
 “ fore him by *Abraham*.

“ To which I answered ; that they did eat
 “ is undoubtedly written ; if we are to un-
 “ derstand these Words as if all three did eat,
 “ and not two of them only (and who are
 “ undoubtedly Angels and are fed in Heaven,
 “ though not with the same Kind of Food
 “ as we Men make use of ; For of the
 “ Food of *Manna* with which your Fathers
 “ were fed in the Desert the Scripture says,
 “ *They did eat Angel's Food*[7]) for the Scrip-
 “ ture expressly mentions their Eating,
 “ which, however in my Apprehension, is
 “ said in the same Figure of Speech as when
 “ we say, the Fire devours all Things ; But
 “ is not to be understood as if they chew-
 “ ed their Meat with their Teeth and Gums.
 “ And carries no Ambiguity with it to Per-
 “ sons skilled in a figurative Method of
 “ Speech.

“ This Interpretation I allow, said *Try-*
 “ *pho*, may in some Degree account for their
 “ Manner of eating, and consuming the

[7] Ps. lxxviii. 25.

“ Food that was prepared for them by *A-*
 “ *brabam*, which it is said *they did eat*. But
 “ I desire you will now explain how that
 “ God, which was seen by *Abraham*, and is
 “ the Minister of that God who created all
 “ Things, being born of a Virgin, was made
 “ subject to like Passions with us, as you be-
 “ fore expressed it.

“ But said I, I beseech you *Trypho*, be-
 - “ fore we proceed further, to permit me to
 “ bring a few other Proofs upon this Head,
 “ that you may be thoroughly convinced of
 “ the Truth thereof; and then I will pro-
 “ ceed to resolve your other Doubts.

“ To which he answered; Do as it seems
 “ best to your self, and I shall be satisfied.
 “ Then said I, I shall continue to quote the
 “ Scriptures, having no Desire to shew my
 “ Skill in any artfull and elaborate Compo-
 “ sition of Eloquence. Nor indeed have I
 “ any Inclination that Way, being thankfull
 “ to God for the Grace that he hath be-
 “ stowed upon me in understanding the
 “ Scriptures. Of whose Grace I beseech
 “ and exhort you to be Partakers, that I
 “ may not have your Infidelity to answer for
 “ at the Day of Judgement, which God the

“ Creator af all Things will fummon us to
 “ through *Jefus Chrift* our Lord”.—

And in his fecond Dialogue with *Trypho*,
Justin fays, “ If you did but know, O *Try-*
pbo, who this was that is fpoken of as the
 “ Angel of the great Council, and the Man
 “ by *Ezekiel* ; and the Son of Man by *Da-*
 “ *niel* ; and as the Child by *Ifaiab* ; and
 “ the adorable God by *David* ; and David
 “ and Chrift, and the Stone, by many ; and
 “ Wifdom by *Solomon* ; and *Joſeph* and *Ju-*
 “ *dah*, and the Star by *Mofes* ; and the Eaſt
 “ by *Zechariab* ; and is fpoken of as being
 “ liable to Sufferings, and is called Jacob,
 “ and *Iſrael* by *Ifaiab* ; and is alfo denomi-
 “ nated the Rod, and the Branch, and the
 “ Corner Stone, and the Son of God,
 “ you would not load him with ſuch Re-
 “ proaches and Slanders, who came and
 “ was born, and ſuffered, and aſcended
 “ into Heaven : and who ſhall come again
 “ when your twelve Tribes ſhall be in La-
 “ mentation [8]. For if you underſtood the
 “ Prophets: you would not deny him to be
 “ God, who is the Son of the one only
 “ unbegotten and ineffable God. For it is

[8] See Zech. xii. 12.

“ ſome-

“ somewhere said by *Moses* in the Book of
 “ *Exodus*, And God spake unto *Moses*
 “ and said unto him, By my Name have I not
 “ been made known to them? and my Cove-
 “ nant have I established with them [9]. And
 “ again it is said that *A Man wrestled with*
 “ *Jacob*, whom he calls God, saying, *For I*
 “ *have seen God Face to Face and my Life is*
 “ *preserved* [1]. For so *Jacob* is represent-
 “ ed as having said. And *Moses* mentions
 “ in his History how he called the Place,
 “ where the Angel appeared unto him,
 “ and wrestled with him, and blessed him,
 “ *The Face of God* [2]. *Moses* also says that
 “ God appeared to *Abraham* at the Oak in
 “ *Mamre* as he sate at the Tent Door in the
 “ Heat of the Day. And that he lift up his
 “ Eyes, and looked, and lo, three Men stood
 “ by him; and when he saw them he ran to
 “ meet them. A little after one of them pro-
 “ mised a Son to *Abraham*, and said, *Where-*
 “ *fore did Sarah laugh? saying shall I of a*
 “ *Surety bear a Child, who am old? Is any*
 “ *thing too hard for the Lord? at the Time*
 “ *appointed will I return unto thee, according*
 “ *to the Time of Life, and Sarah shall have a*

[9] *Exod.* vi. 2, 3, 4. [1] *Gen.* xxxii. 24, 30.

[2] *Gen.* xxxii. 30. *Peniel.*

* *Son. And he departed from Abraham. Of*
 “ whom it is also further said, *And the Men*
 “ *rose up from thence and looked towards So-*
 “ *dom.* Then again he that was and is speaks
 “ to *Abraham*, saying, *I will not hide from*
 “ *Abraham the Thing which I do* [3]. And
 “ the rest of the Things which I have alrea-
 “ dy laid before you. In which, as I said,
 “ was shewed that he who appeared unto
 “ *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and the
 “ other Patriarchs, and is called God, was
 “ CONSTITUTED BY HIS FATHER AND
 “ LORD TO MINISTER UNTO HIS WILL [4];
 “ only this I have now added which I had
 “ not said before. In the same manner when
 “ a violent Desire after the Flesh-Pots of *E-*
 “ *gypt* had seized the *Israelites*; and *Moses*,
 “ who was appointed by that Angel, who
 “ was himself God, and an Angel sent
 “ from the Father, would not believe the
 “ Angel’s Promise that God would feed
 “ them to Fulness; it is declared that the
 “ following Things were said and done.
 “ *And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord’s*
 “ *Hand waxed short? Thou shalt see now*

[3] Gen. xviii. 1—17.

[4] ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ τετραμμένος, καὶ ὑπερταῖον
 τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ. *Sub Patre et Domino constitutus, et mini-*
strans voluntati ejus.

“ *whether*

“ *whether my Word shall come to pass to thee or*
 “ *not* [5]. And in another Place it is said,
 “ *Also the Lord hath said unto me, Thou shalt*
 “ *not go over this Jordan. The Lord God be*
 “ *will go over before thee, and he will destroy*
 “ *these Nations from before thee* [6]. With
 “ many more Sayings to this Purpose in *Mo-*
 “ *ses* and the Prophets.

“ I apprehend therefore I have sufficiently
 “ explained when God says, that *God went*
 “ *up from Abraham* [7]; or *the Lord spake*
 “ *unto Moses* [8]; or *and the Lord came*
 “ *down to see the City and the Tower which*
 “ *the Children of Men builded* [9]; or when
 “ it is said, that *God shut Noah in the Ark* [1];
 “ that you ought not to imagine that the un-
 “ begotten God either ascended, or descend-
 “ ed any where. For he the ineffable Fa-
 “ ther and Lord of all things, neither comes
 “ into any Place, nor walks about, nor sleeps,
 “ nor awakes, but abides in his Place, what-
 “ ever that is, seeing and hearing all things,
 “ not with Eyes or Ears, but with an inex-
 “ pressible Power inspecting all things, and
 “ knowing all things, so that nothing is hid

[5] Num. ii. 23.

[6] Deut. xxxi. 2, 3.

[7] Gen. xvii. 22.

[8] Exod. vi. 2, 29, &c. &c.

[9] Gen. xi. 5.

[1] Gen. vii. 17.

from

“ from his Cognizance. Nor is he moveable,
 “ nor can any particular Place, or even the
 “ whole World, contain him; having exist-
 “ ed before the World was made. How
 “ then can he either speak to any one, or
 “ be seen by any one or appear in one little
 “ Spot of the Earth? Since the People at
 “ Mount *Sinai* could not even bear to see
 “ the Glory of him that was sent by him [2].
 “ Nor could *Moses* enter into the Taberna-
 “ cle, which he had made, when the Glory
 “ of the Lord had filled the Tabernacle [3].
 “ Nor could the Priests stand to minister in
 “ the Temple, for the Glory of the Lord,
 “ when *Solomon* brought the Ark into the
 “ Temple which he had builded [4]. There-
 “ fore neither hath *Abraham*, nor *Isaac*, nor
 “ *Jacob*, nor any Man whatsoever, seen the
 “ Father, and ineffable Lord of all things, and
 “ of his *Christ*: But only have seen him who
 “ by the Will of the Father is God, and his
 “ Son, and Angel, and Minister of his Coun-
 “ cil; and who by his Will was made Man,
 “ being born of a Virgin: Who also became
 “ Fire when he spake to *Moses* out of the Bush.
 “ In which Sense unless the sacred cred Wri-

[2] See Exod. xx. 19. xxiv. 17. [3] See Exod. xi.
 34, 35. [4] See 1 Kings viii. 10, 11.

“ tings

“ things be understood, it will follow that the
 “ Father and Lord of all things was not then
 “ in Heaven, when it is said by *Moses*, *And the*
 “ *Lord rained upon Sodom Brimstone and Fire*
 “ *from the Lord out of Heaven* [5]. Or again
 “ when it is said, *Lift up your Heads, O ye*
 “ *Gates and be ye lift up, ye everlasting Doors,*
 “ *and the King of Glory shall come in* [6]. Or
 “ again when it is said, *And the Lord said un-*
 “ *to my Lord, Sit thou on my right Hand, un-*
 “ *till I make thine Enemies thy Footstool* [7].

“ And that *Christ* who is Lord and God,
 “ as being the Son of God, formerly appear-
 “ ed both as a Man and Angel, and was also
 “ seen in the Bush in the Form of a Flame of
 “ of Fire, and was present at the Judgement
 “ executed on *Sodom*, hath been already suf-
 “ ficiently proved. I likewise repeated out
 “ of *Exodus* all that I before mentioned con-
 “ cerning the Apparition in the Bush, and
 “ the Appellation of the Name *Jesus*, and
 “ then I added; I beseech you not to think
 “ me tiresome in repeating these Things so
 “ often. Because I know there are some
 “ who will object and say; THE POWER
 “ which came from the Father of all Things,
 “ which appeared unto *Moses*, or *Jacob*, or

[5] Gen. xix. 24. [6] Ps. xxiv. 7. [7] Ps. cx. 1.

“ *Abra-*

“ *Abraham*, was called an *Angel* only when
 “ he was sent unto Men to carry unto them
 “ the Commands of the Father ; but *the Glo-*
 “ *ry of God*, when he sometimes exhibited
 “ himself in an incomprehensible Appear-
 “ ance [8]; and was called a *Man* when it
 “ pleased the Father that he should be seen in
 “ that Shape; and was also called *the Word*
 “ because he carried the Commands of the
 “ Father to Men : But that nevertheless
 “ that *Power* was indivisible and inseparable
 “ from the Father, in the same Manner as
 “ the Rays of the Sun upon Earth are indi-
 “ visible and inseparable from the Sun which
 “ is in Heaven ; which when it sets, the
 “ Rays depart also along with it. And so in
 “ like manner the Father, when he pleases,
 “ say they, *emits* that Power, and when he
 “ pleases draws it back again into himself.
 “ After the same Manner they suppose God
 “ also sends forth the Angels.

“ But that there are Angels which always
 “ remain as such, and are not resolved again
 “ into their own Original from whence they
 “ proceeded, may be demonstrated. And so
 “ that this *Power*, which the Word of Pro-

[8] See Exod. xl. 34, 35. and 1 Kings viii. 10, 11.
 where the *Cloud* is called *the Glory of the Lord*.

¶ prophecy calleth *God*, and an *Angel*, as hath
 “ been already largely proved, *is not only no-*
 “ *minally different* from the Father, *as the*
 “ *Rays are from the Sun, but is numerically a*
 “ *different Thing* [9], I have given sufficient
 “ Proofs of already: Where I have shewed
 “ that this *Power* was begotten of the Father
 “ *by his Will and Power* [1], and was not
 “ produced by any Section, as if *the Substance*
 “ [2] of the Father was divided as other Sub-
 “ stances are divided and separated, where-
 “ by they are made different from what they
 “ were before such Division. And I exem-
 “ plified in the Instance of Fires which
 “ we see lighted from another Fire, with-
 “ out diminishing the first, and which may
 “ kindle several different Fires, though it re-
 “ mains itself in its own original State. But
 “ to shew this more fully I must repeat what
 “ I said before. For when it is said, *And the*
 “ *Lord rained Fire from the Lord out of Hea-*
 “ *ven*; does not the Word of Prophecy shew

[9] ὅτι, ὡς τὸ τῆς ἡλίου φῶς, διόμασι μόνον ἀριθμῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἕτερον τὸ ἐστίν.

[1] No Words can make it more manifest that it was the Opinion of *Justin*, that not only the Father and Son were numerically two different and distinct Substances, but also that the Son was begotten by the *Will* of the Father.

[2] Οὐσίας.

that

“ that these *Lords* were numerically *two* ?
 “ One in the Heaven, who is the Lord of
 “ that Lord who appeared upon Earth, the
 “ Father and God and Cause of his being a
 “ Power and Lord and God.”

And pray what does the Author of the *Essay on Spirit* say more than what is here said by *Justin* ? unless it be that he has translated the Texts of Scripture from the original *Hebrew* rather than from the *Septuagint* Version; and of Consequence hath made use of the Word *Jehovah*, which is in the *Hebrew*, instead of the Word *Lord*, which in the *English* Translation is borrowed from the Word *Κύριος*, by which the Word *Jehovah* is improperly rendered in the *Septuagint*, and from thence in *Justin*.

As to *Athanasius*, he did not flourish till about two-hundred Years after *Justin*; and why we should follow him rather than *Justin Martyr* I really cannot tell. If I was a *Papist*, I could find out a great many Reasons for it; but as I am a *Protestant*, I really cannot find out one. Nor indeed can I tell why the Conjectures of any Man, though never so great, in the Explanation of a Mystery whether it be *Justin Martyr* or whether it be *Athanasius*, should be erected into an Article of Faith.

If

If the Scriptures have left those Things doubtful and disputable, so in my Opinion ought we also : But as in this Antidote I did propose not to insist upon my own Sentiments, I shall on this Subject produce some Quotations selected out of a Book entitled, *The Gentleman's Religion*, which is said to have been written by a late most Reverend Prelate in *Ireland*, whose Character for Religion, for Loyalty, and for Skill in his Profession does Honour to his Country.

Now this very good Man says, that “ All the Duties of Religion, which God requires of Man, must needs be easy enough for him to understand, however hard they may be to be practised”.

And speaking of the primitive Fathers of the Church, he says, “ Neither do I understand by what Authority the Writings of those Persons, who are acknowledged to be subject to Errors, should be obtruded on me as a Rule of my Faith, or as a sufficient Argument to determine my Assent in so weighty a Matter”.

And again he says, “ If there may be found any different Readings in divers Copies of the *new Testament* which disagree
“ in

“ in Sense, as well as Words (which seldom
 “ ever happens in any Thing that is account-
 “ ed a material Part of Religion) then it seems
 “ to me most fit and proper to admit of that
 “ Reading and Sense, which best agrees to
 “ the Tenor of the whole; with the ancient-
 “ est and best Translations; and with the
 “ evident Principles of sound Reason. *And*
 “ *if any Place be so obscure, as that none of*
 “ *these will afford any Light into its Mean-*
 “ *ing, then I think that no Stress ought to be*
 “ *laid upon it, in any necessary Part of Re-*
 “ *ligion.*

And continues he; “ Since I have shewed
 “ that all necessary Things (whether as to
 “ Belief or Practice) in Religion are *easy to*
 “ *be understood*; I must from hence conclude
 “ that a sober and honest Enquirer cannot
 “ easily be mistaken in the Interpretation of
 “ these Places of the *new Testament*, which
 “ do contain any necessary Part of Religion.”

“ There is nothing necessary in Christi-
 “ anity, but what may as well be understood
 “ by every ordinary illiterate Man, as by the
 “ greatest Scholars. If this were not so, it
 “ would not be possible for an unlearned Man
 “ to be as good a Christian as one that is
 “ learned: Whereas the contrary is most ap-
 “ parently

“ parently declared in the *New Testament*. See
 “ *Matt.* xi. 25. *1 Cor.* i. 19. *Col.* ii. 8.
 “ *2 Tim.* vi. 20.”

“ From whence, I think, I may conclude
 “ that all such Doctrines, the Understanding
 “ ing and Proof whereof depend either on
 “ the subtle Speculations of human Philosophy,
 “ or the Niceties and Criticisms of
 “ grammatical Learning, or the curious
 “ Knowledge of History and Antiquity, are
 “ not to be esteemed as necessary Parts of
 “ Christianity.”

And speaking of the three Persons in the
 Trinity, he says, “ I call each Person God :
 “ But I give the Title of God in a more em-
 “ phatical Manner unto the Father, than
 “ unto the Son, or Holy Ghost, because the
 “ Father depends on none, but they do de-
 “ pend on him.”

“ And although the Son and the Holy
 “ Ghost, being each of them God, are and
 “ must needs be, of the same Nature, and
 “ upon that Account equal with the Father ;
 “ yet it is manifest that this Equality must be
 “ understood with an Allowance for the ab-
 “ solute Independence of the Father, and
 “ the Dependence of the Son, and the Holy
 “ Ghost upon him.”

G

And

And here I cannot but pity this great Man, when I consider the Shift he was put to, and the Difficulty he laboured under, to make an Apology for that Declaration in the *Athanasian Creed*, where the Son and Holy Ghost are said to be *equal* to the Father. As if the Appellation of *God*, which in the Language of the Scriptures is given both to *Men* and *Angels*, as well as to the Son, must necessarily include their being *of the same Nature* with the supreme God, and upon that Account equal with the Father. Notwithstanding which, his good Sense and his Integrity forced him to acknowledge, that *this Equality must be understood WITH AN ALLOWANCE for the absolute Independence of the Father, and the Dependence of the Son, and Holy Ghost upon him.*

I had here ended, but a Pamphlet has been since sent me, entituled,

A clear Vindication of the true eternal Godhead of Jesus Christ, &c. by
SAMUEL HENRY, M. A.

which is hardly worth an Answer; but lest this Son of *Phylisfia* should triumph in his own Imagination, if not noticed,

I

I shall

produce one Sample of his *Learning*, another of his *Reasoning*, and a third of his *Knowledge in this particular Dispute*, which will be sufficient to convince the Reader that he has no Loss in not being made further acquainted with it.

IN Page 16, this Author asserts that the Council of *Nice* was assembled A. D. 321. And again, Page 41, that the Reader may be certified this was no Error of the Press, he assures us it was summoned in the 21st Year of the fourth Century, and that there were no fewer than *eighty Bishops* present at it. Whereas, if any of the Ecclesiastical Historians are to be believed (either *Eusebius*, or *Athanasius*, or *Socrates*, or *Sozomen*, or *Theodoret*, or *Baronius*, or *Maimburgh*, or *Tillemont*, or *Dupin*, or the *Universal History*, &c. &c. &c. and it is odd that a Writer, who ventures upon such a Subject in Print, should not have one of these Books to consult) the Council of *Nice* was held A. D. 325, and the Number of Bishops present were about 300.

And as to his *Reasoning*; In Answer to a Passage in the *Essay on Spirit*, wherein that Author, to prove there is a real Difference

between the *Father* and the *Son*, quotes those Expressions out of the Bible where the *Son* is called *the Beginning of the Creation of God*, and *the First-born of every Creature*, this Author, Page 37, in order to set aside the Force of this Argument, makes a Distinction between the *Principium principians*, and the *Principium principiatum*; or in *English*, between the Cause and the Effect; or between the Creator and the Creature; from whence he concludes that therefore *the Beginning of the Creation of God*, or *the First-born of the Creatures* is the same with, and equal to, the Creator. Or, in other Words, that because there is a Difference betwixt them, therefore they are one and the same.

And now I come to give you a Sample of his *Knowledge in this particular Dispute*, into which he has thrust himself without either Fear or Wit. In Page 21, he says, “ But Christ is the begotten Son of God, Ps. ii. “ 7. *Heb.* i. 5. therefore he is *the same Ousia*, “ *Nature and Substance with the Father*”. And in answering the Objection, which he himself raiseth to this Argument, from Angels being called the *Sons of God*, *Job xxxviii.* 7. he adds, “ But they are far from being “ Partakers of the *Divine Nature* in a strict
“ and

“ and philosophical Sense ; in which we say
 “ that Christ is the Son of God. Because
 “ all must own that the *Begetter* and the
 “ *Begotten*, the *Father* and the *Son*, are of
 “ the *same Species*”. But does their being
Father and *Son*, or even being of the same
Species, make them to be *consubstantial* ? If
 it does, then every human Son must be *con-*
substantial with his Father, and would be
 one and the same undivided Substance with
 his Father, and Father and Son would not
 be two Men, but one ; as God the Father
 and God the Son are said to be, not two
 Gods, but one: Whereas a human Father
 and Son, though undoubtedly of the *same*
Species, are two real distinct and separate
 Men. And if this Author supposes God the
 Father and God the Son, because of the *same*
Species, to be two coeternal, coequal, sepa-
 rate and distinct Gods, this will be *Polytheism*
 with a Witness. And if his Argument does
 not mean this, it means nothing. So that
 I now leave it to the Reader to determine
 whether such an Author can be worth any
 further Notice.

F I N I S.

Page 74. *l. ult. dele cred.*

76. *l. 17. for likem anner r like manner.*

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*Bona Religio non imperatur, sed ex præceptâ Veritatis Opinione,
bene præparatis Mentibus infunditur, accedente Numinis Divini
Gratiâ.*
Thuanus in *Præfatione*, p. 3.

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P R E F A C E.

A FEW Years ago was printed, and dedicated to his Grace the Most Rev. Lord P—— of all I——d, an *Essay on Spirit*, with an Intent (if the Author's own Heart do not deceive him) to promote unfeigned Piety, and the only true Religion, by setting Men right in their Opinions in Philosophy, and explaining some Phenomena, in natural Effects and Causes, hitherto but little understood, as the Author humbly conceives; as also to sift away the most palpable of the Absurdities, which have been received into Religion, from Time to Time, and clear the Foundations, on which the Doctrines and Opinions of the Church ought to be built, so as to remain durable and unshaken; as also to recommend a Review of our Liturgy, to the Intent, that those Cavils of our Adversaries may have no Effect on
A weak

weak Minds, and that the ignorant Part of the Clergy, who are the most numerous, and the vulgar Herd among the Laity, may find no Opportunity of embracing Errors and Contradictions, to the great Scandal of our *Hierarchy*, and exposing us to the Imputation of arguing as doth the Church of *Rome*, from which, by God's Blessing, we have separated, rather than by any laudable Endeavours of those, said to be, eminent Persons, who took the Lead at the Reformation.

The Author was not in Haste to have this, his Work, of more than ten Years Study and Application, see the Light; nor hath he that Ambition, usually attending a Writer, to get a great Name in the learned World, but purely and sincerely to promote the Truths, recommended by the Apostles, before they were corrupted by the Fathers, who neither did nor could know so much as we, at this Time of Day, must be acquainted with, who have seen those *Scoffers come*, which they only prophesied of, and which, the Author humbly conceives, have been encouraged by the senseless Apologies for established Doctrines,

P R E F A C E. iii

trines, written by Men, who have gotten (he does not see how deservedly) a great Reputation for Learning, and have been considered as modern Champions for the Faith; which Doctrines ought to have been given up long ago, to prevent such Objections being made, as may stagger such Christians, as *dare not* give them up till authorized thereto, and do not know how to defend them, or perhaps to defend the best Doctrines, as they ought to be defended, or the Truths contained therein ought to be.

The Author, so far from relying entirely on his own Judgment, communicated those Papers to Persons, whose Judgment, as well as particular Regards to him, he could trust, and entirely rely thereon; first, to a Person, *then about the Author*, but since deceased, who, although not bred to Learning, had a singular Judgment naturally, and was blessed with great Parts, though not much exercised, until such Time as the Author took some Pains to give him an Opportunity of improving them, by explaining, first, his own Works to him, and then desir-

iv **P R E F A C E.**

ing the said Person's Opinion, which, tho' incredible to relate, did always, to a Tittle, correspond with his own.

But the Author, not content with the single Approbation of one, in some Measure depending on him, tho' of unquestionable Sincerity, did put the said *Essay* into the Hands of three Clergymen of the Church, as by Law established, then in near Neighbourhood, and still in near Intimacy with him, with an earnest Request, that their Friendship for the Author might no Way influence or bias their Judgment; but that, rather, they would signify their Friendship, by the Rigour and Severity of their Examination, and by their Castigation of every Passage that should seem in the least inconsistent with the plainest Reason, and most exact primitive Faith. They concurred as one Man, to approve the Treatise in general, and expressed such Encomiums of the Clearness of the Argument, Beauty of the Imagination, Correctness of Style, and, above all, the natural Turn given by the Author (though entirely new) to the Text of the Originals, and

P R E F A C E.

and the Translations of them, he thought it necessary to amend, in order to lead the Reader into a more clear and full Conception of his Meaning, than, it seemed to appear to him, could be obtained without such Turn and Emendations thereunto given. It would not become the Author to repeat their Approbation in their own Terms, which were so friendly, as well as judicious, that he had no Room to suspect that the few Emendations, they recommended to be made, could proceed from any Envy to him; but rather to be a sought-for Opportunity of shewing their Friendship, by some Castigation or other, as was previously and strongly requested of them. Upon this Consideration, the Author let the Passages stand as they were, and has the Happiness to know, that those very Passages are now more approved by those Gentlemen, than any other in the Book.

It was from these Encouragements, and the *tacit* Approbation of Persons of great Name in *London*, and who enjoyed the Friendship of Doctor *Clark*, to whom he submitted the Book for their Perusal, before

before he caused it to be printed, in the third Edition, (the first at his own Cost, and the third for Sale; the second being done without his Knowledge,) he thought he did what it was his Duty to do, in Discharge of his own Conscience, and not to conceal from the learned World a Scheme, he humbly conceived, might not be altogether without Use in the State, as well as in the Church, as by Law established.

! Although the Author did not expect or desire any one to stand up for his Defence, or give him the least Assistance in *Writing*, yet he must confess his Astonishment on two Accounts: First, that none of the Most Rev. or Right Rev. Pr—ates, in Conjunction with the upper Part of the Laity, had done any Thing this last Winter, toward recommending his Scheme *to the Powers that be*; and particularly, that *one great Person* let slip an Opportunity so favourable to the Design, and made no Use of his Interest with a V—y so willing to hear Reason, and from his native Goodness, so ready to promote any good Work; to
chalk

P R E F A C E. vii

chalk out, and have put in some Forwardness, the Reformation recommended, and so much desired (as appears by the quick Sale of the *Essay*) by all Degrees of Persons in the Church and State of *I—d*, except a few very contemptible Persons, who are only *blind Followers* of *blind Leaders*, and make a greater Noise than they do, who *can see* the true Interests of our *Hierarchy*, as well as of the civil Community, and can also *have an Eye* to the private Interests of Men, who are willing to be employed under the Government, as well as in the Church, without, at the same Time, offering any Violation to their own Conscience; without which Provision, the Author humbly conceives, no State whatsoever can flourish or prosper.

A second Cause of the Author's great Astonishment is, (and which he takes leave to express in much harsher Terms than he has yet used) that none of the most Rev. or Right Rev. Guardians of the Church, or that *one* of them, at least, already known to the World by his learned Labours, hath not been pleased, either to signify *his* Approbation of the
Work,

Work, or candidly to offer what he conceives may be reasonably objected thereunto. Are they indolent Lookers-on, when Doctrines are broached, *subversive*, as is pretended, of Christianity? Can they answer to the World or themselves, how it is that they see the Herd of the People *misled*, and will not vouchsafe to put them in the right Way? The People have been alarmed with the Cry of *Apostasy* and *Infidelity* from every Quarter, from News-Papers, Coffee-Houses, and *Visitation-Charges*; and yet among those who ought to be the first to take the Alarm — *altum silentium*! The Author hath, as he conceives, modestly, but pressingly, invited Persons, in high Station, whose Sentiments may be worth considering, and whose Authority in the World may have a due Influence, impartially to weigh, and minutely consider, what he hath advanced, and then particularly to argue from Paragraph to Paragraph, to reason candidly on each, to bring *Authorities* for his Opinions, or else support any *new Opinion*, by clear and demonstrable Arguments, as the Author must

must have leave to think he hath done, till such Time as the contrary thereto shall be evinced, and not to condemn his Work in the Bulk, and recommend to the *ignorant Part* of the Clergy, to blow *the Trumpet in Sion*, and alarm the Multitude by *Sound* without Sense ; to caution them to beware of Doctrines, which the Clergy in general cannot be supposed to understand, or the People (as yet) not intended to be made acquainted with, nor until a better Disposition may appear both in the Governors and Governed ; the first to agree on and injoin, and the last to yield a sensible and ready Compliance, with Articles and Terms, which they are now unreasonably taught to think of with Aversion, if not some Degree of Abhorrence.

The Author hath long waited, though, he owns, with Impatience, to see somewhat offered to the Public of the Nature of what he hath here described, and hath with-held, on that Expectation, the Treatise he here submits to the impartial Judgment of the World, in order either to *own* his Conviction in the most public

B

Manner,

Manner, or make good his *Promise* in signifying the Reasons why, and the Motives on which, he still abides by his first Positions and Opinions.

He hopes therefore he will be forgiven by the Learned, if he condescends to take a little Notice of some very indifferently written Pamphlets, which, the Authors of them say in their Title-Pages, were intended for *Answers, Illustrations, Vindications*, or whatever Names they have been pleased to call them by; and he the rather takes this Opportunity of doing it, by way of Preface, that he may not be interrupted, in the Course of the ensuing Work, to give such Answers to their Objections, as they may possibly think their strong Reasons, which they have produced, may or ought to entitle them unto.

The first of these *anonymous* Writers hath declared himself a Layman, in a Pamphlet printed in *London*. The second, who professes to illustrate the Author's Doctrine in a kind of Dialogue, hath not signified his Profession. The third hath honestly told us, he is the Rev. Mr. *Samuel*

Samuel Henry, Minister of *Gaulthill* in *Oxford*; who shall all have their Pretensions considered, after the Author has previously observed, that none of them appear to have rightly taken the Plan of his Work, together with the Drift and Scope of his Intentions, but have preposterously found Fault with particular Passages in his *Essay*, without observing (or perhaps having Capacity to do it) that they *necessarily* follow from *Premises* laid down many Pages before; and therefore the Author apprehends, that, altho' the Conclusion may be disagreeable to them, the Fault (if any there be) ought to be laid at the Door of the *Premises*, according to all known and legitimate Rules of arguing; and a due Observation of these Rules would very much shorten the Dissertations of the greater Part of *polemical* Divines, who never are content till they attack us in every Quarter, and in all the *Avenues* that lead to a *Conclusion*, without having Patience, or Presence of Mind, to consider, that breaking one *Link* of a Chain dissolves it as effectually as disjoining them all. They ought therefore, if they pretend to Sense as well as Learning, to single out *one*

Part of the Argument to be the Object of their Indignation, and, when they have worried it sufficiently, and subdued it to their Liking, then leave that Argument, and encounter another, without troubling themselves to lay superfluous Blows on a Thing already disabled. But, instead of observing this prudent Conduct, they first point Invectives at the *Author*, then seize on his *Proposition*, knock down his *Medium*, murder his *Premises*, and then, as if enough were not done already, fall to bitter Scolding at a helpless *Conclusion*, and utter their last Breath in contumelious Scoffs and vain-glorious Insults.

This being premised, he proceeds to consider the Layman's *Plan*, which, he confesses, is a very extraordinary one, and, it must be owned, intirely new. His Design of proving the *Trinity*, or rather *many Trinities*, from *cabbalistical* Words, of fixing the Sense he does of the Word *Angel*, making it to denote *Matter* as often as used in Scripture, his Interpretation of *Scripture*, more wild than that of the *Rabbins*; all conspire to prove that he is
either

either out of his Senses, or out of Employment. The Charge he brings against the Author, of Inconsistency and Insincerity, is fully answered, or rather *prevented*, in his *Dedication* prefix'd to the *Essay*, and it is needless to vindicate him a-new.

The next of these Writers hath thought fit to entitle his Paper *A friendly Conference between Matter and Spirit*, &c. † without telling us whether he be Clergyman or Layman; but the Author must suppose him the *latter*, as he discovers so gross an Ignorance of the Bible, and what is contained therein, as to leave it in Doubt whether or no he ever looked into it; and, to speak ingenuously, seems to have taken from *Hearsay* the several Passages of it he quotes, having cited 33d of *Daniel* for a Text in *Deuteronomy*, which renders it evident he does not know the Difference between a Prophet and an Historian, a *Lawgiver* (for the Word means only a *second Law*, or a Supplement to the first) and a Foreteller of what shall come to pass in the latter Times; and again he contents himself

† Printed for P. WILSON.

with

with quoting the Substance of a Verse, without sticking close to the Letter, which leaves room for various Interpretations, and shews him to be a Novice in Argumentation. But, whether he be of any or no Profession, he is, the Author conceives, no Philosopher, and hopes the Reader will be of that Opinion, when he shall consider the following Reasons, and read attentively the several Books he recommends, written on the Subject of Natural Philosophy, as well as be clearly convinced, the Author's Account of *Matter* and *Motion* is the only true one, that may serve for a Foundation on which to build all future Systems and Speculations whatever : And the Author cannot help expressing his Wonder, that the Author of *Siris* should be so mistaken in the Causes he hath assigned of the *Separation* and *Combination* of the Particles of Matter, when the true Cause lay so near to him as hardly to be missed by one of a philosophical Turn ; the Knowledge of which would have saved him a great deal of Thinking, and unnecessary and painful Inquiry after Nature, in the Method he has chosen of *Experi-*

ment and *Analysis*; whereas the Way is, to hit upon the true Cause at first, and from thence make Deductions through all the various Modifications of Matter, instead of that preposterous Method of arguing back, which of late hath been ridiculously introduced into Divinity as well as Philosophy.

If the Reader will be pleased to review the *Essay on Spirit*, p. 22, he will find the Author's *Principle* at large, and he takes leave to call it *his*, as there is no Trace of it in *Newton* or *Descartes*, *Bacon* or *Barrow*, at least that the Author could find in the occasional Researches he made into those Writers about *Mathematicks*, who, it seems, are very much in vogue; and the Reader will easily perceive, that, if his *Principle* be the only *true one* (which he hopes to make out) then the *Principles*, which these Gentlemen and their Followers have gone upon, must be wrong. I argue thus to make the Assertion still more evident.

If the Author's *Principle* be the only *true one*, then all *Principles* differing from it must be wrong.

But

But the Author's Principle is the *only true one*; therefore the Principles of these Gentlemen and their Followers must be wrong.

The Author is sensible some People may deny the *Sequel* of the *Entbymeme* (the Minor will hardly be denied) and that it by no Means follows, because *he* is *right*, others must be *wrong*: But to obviate this Objection he inserted the Word *differing* in the *Major*; and the Objection can be made by none but Persons unskilled in *Logic*.

But to explain the Author's Principle farther, and shew plainly that every Particle of *Matter* is animated, he craves leave to offer to the Reader some additional Arguments, or rather Illustrations (for his former Arguments are sufficient to all but the Vulgar) to put the Thing past Doubt, and leave no room for future Cavils.

It has been proved already, that *Motion* is no original or necessary Property of *Matter*, (for nothing is necessary which we can conceive any Thing to be without;) that *Motion* must be impressed on
it

P R E F A C E xvii

it by something else; that That something else must be *Spirit*; that, as one Spirit cannot be in all Places at once, there must be a great many *Spirits* to attend on *Matter*, and put it into the various Motions, we see every Day; that these several *Spirits* must be as it were wedded to the first Particles they join, and consequently contract a Liking to their own Possession, in order to avoid Disputes, or interfering with each other, and, in short, manage all Things in the Manner we see.

Now, to illustrate this a little more, and prove his main Assertion, "that all *Spirits* are of the same Kind, and only differ as they happen to have different Organs to work in;" let us consider some of the *Phænomena* under daily Observation.

It has been asserted by the best Philosophers, that the *Elements* have, from Time immemorial, always acted in the same Manner, without varying one *Jet* or *Tithe* since the Beginning of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, and probably ten thousand Years before. Now, *Matter*, cannot

not *think*, and acting so uniformly must be the Consequence of *thinking*, and nothing else can produce it; therefore *Matter* is directed by *Spirit*, or (as the Author rather chuses to call it) *Instinct*.

Again, *different Spirits*, or of *diverse Species*, would act *diversely*, and occasion Confusion; therefore all *Spirits* must be of the same Kind or *Species*; and the *different Effects* in their operating follow from the *Difference* of *organized Matter*. If this be not granted, infinite Absurdities will follow. *Water*, for Instance, always seeks the lowest Place, and *Fire* aspires. Now, if *Spirits* of a different Kind were to possess *Water*, they would operate differently, and *Water* might take the Place destined to *Fire*. This, he thinks, is clear.

Again, the Sounds emitted by all Bodies on Collision are found to differ as the Matter is different, or as the Impulse from without is agreeable or disagreeable to the *Spirit* within. If a *Man* is wounded, he utters an articulate Sound; if a *Beast*, one inarticulate and harsh; a *Stone*, as it happens either to be porous
or

or dense, a Sound *obtuse* (if I may use the Word here) or acute, according to the Degree of Density; and all of them, tho' in different Sort, testify their Resentment on having Violence offered them, and the Laws of Nature and Peace infringed.

This is sufficient to confute the trifling Objections of the Writer under Consideration against the *Essay*, and the Philosophy therein contained.

The Rev. Mr. *Samuel Henry*, Rector of *Gaulkshill*, in the Diocese of *Ossory*, has made no Objection to the Author's Philosophy; and that honest Gentleman's Knowledge in Divinity is not so great as his *Zeal*, which in the Front appears so furious, that he has given Reason to suspect him to be of persecuting Principles. Fire and Faggot were the old Instruments of Persecution: But he talks of piercing the Author *thro' the Heart*, and calls aloud on all Persons to take Courage; and, indeed, they must have a good deal, and great Patience too, who will undertake what he desires, *viz.* to consider particularly his Arguments, which are only the

contemptible Scraps raked up from the Opposers of *Arianism*, and set in a worse Light than he found them. But he must here observe, once for all, that the ready Objection, and the easiest made against the Author, is not only ungenerous, but proves nothing, *viz.* Had you not Time to consider these Things before you took holy Orders? Why don't you resign Preferments? To which Questions the Author thinks it no Way incumbent on him to answer, till called upon in *Convocation*, or at a *regal Visitation*, which he earnestly wishes to have an Opportunity of doing, from a well-grounded Belief, that his Doctrine would meet with a better Reception (at least from the upper House in Convocation) than it seems to have done from Persons left at Liberty to judge for themselves, and publish their crude Opinions, together with their Ill-manners, to the World.

T H E

THE GENUINE SEQUEL, &c.

I. **EPIPHANIUS** *Scholasticus*, in his Translation of the *Tripartita*, as commented on by *Paræus*, p. 588, hath these Words: "The Emperors, by their Humility in submitting themselves to God, reprov'd the High-mindedness and Arrogancy of the Bishops, who, by their continual Brawlings and Contentions, abused their Imperial Majesties." And the Emperor *Constantius Augustus*, in his Admonitions to *Liberius*, Bishop of Rome, hath these Words, as translated by *A. Cozza*: *Tu solus homini impio subsidio venire, & pacem orbis ac mundi totius dirimere, audeas?* The *homo impius* was *Athanasius*, who, I find by all his cotemporary Writers, was esteem'd a contentious Brawler, as I shall in due Time, I hope, prove from his own Writings; and yet, though he stood as it were single, he did, by Intrigues and servile Obedience to the See of Rome, get the better of the Emperor and all his Adherents.

It is a melancholy Reflexion, that in all Times of the Church the most obstinate Party has always prevailed and been esteemed *Orthodox*, which I take to be owing altogether to this, that a general Maxim has universally possessed Men's Minds, that *Truth will defend itself*; which, I humbly apprehend, is rather betraying the Cause of Truth than supporting it. Truth will certainly strike all Beholders with Conviction; but it may be hid from our Eyes, not only as a Punishment, but by the Artifices and Contentions of obstinate and designing Men; and it is easy to remark, that the gentle Disposition of the Emperors, and their Desire of Peace, was the Cause that certain Things were established in the Church against the Judgment of the Majority, and which they did not intend should last any long Time; which Compliance of theirs made others lukewarm and indolent: So that the *fiery Zeal* of an Handful of Men prevailed over universal Opinion, and it will always be so. The Fire of Zeal is like all other fierce Fire, and puts out the more moderate; so that it is no Wonder, if Errors, once crept in, should always remain, as the bigotted Party will stand by and support these Errors, and call for Fire and Faggot, when any Person of a liberal Way of Thinking shall offer any Objection to Opinions imposed, or Forms established.

The

The Author of the *Essay on Spirit* hath found these Observations verified, and is very well content to be the Object of Censure for a Time, if thereby what he proposes may in the End make its Way, and gain Credit with the reasonable Part of the World; so as (when the Legislative Power in the Church shall think fit) it may go better recommended to the People in general, by their public Approbation, without which, he is sensible, it can make but a slow and imperceptible Progress. Therefore,

Let it be his Apology, that he hath no other Design in this second Part, than to clear up and add fresh Testimonies and Arguments to the Truths before proposed, that Men may revolve and consider them frequently, in order that, when the seeming Novelty of them shall wear off, they need not be startled at any Intention of the Governors in Church and State to substitute these his Opinions in the room of such, as, though now received, may be justly liable to Exception. He imposes them on no Person whatever, but leaves to every one's Choice either to receive or reject them.

II. The Author of the Questions to *Antiochus*, Quest. 30, defines an *Angle* thus, ζων λογικον, υμνολογικον, αθανατον; which *Syncellus*, perhaps too ludicrously, translates a *rational Animal* and an *immortal Psalm-singer*; but, at the Time he made his Translation,

Translation, Singing of Psalms did not carry the same Idea with it, that the Frequency of the Exercise and Want of Skill in Parish-Clerks, since the Reformation, have impressed on the Performance of that Part of our Service. It is justly suspected that *Arbamaſius* was the Author of these *Questions*, and his Intention in this Definition was to mislead Men in their Notions about *Angels*, who are always represented as *Warriors*, and not, that I find, ever employed to sing in Chorus, or to join in any Music but what is *martial*, as when it is said *all the Sons of God shouted*, &c. as Armies do on the Appearance of defeating the Adversary. And to add to what I observed before on this Head, I take leave to cite the Words of the very learned *Paræus*, in his Commentary on *Revelations*, as translated by *Elias Arnold*, C. xii. p. 266: “ The Captain and Army
 “ fighting on one Side were *Michael* and *his*
 “ *Angels*, on the other the *Dragon* and *his*
 “ *Angels*; as the *Dragon* is *Satan*; so *Michael* is *Christ*. *Daniel* also brings in *Christ*,
 “ under the Name of *Michael*, c. 11, 12.
 “ *Michael*, the great Prince, shall stand up
 “ for the Children of his People.—By Death,
 “ *Michael* overcame, and, rising again, he
 “ bruised the *Dragon’s* Head, and, being
 “ lift up to the Throne of his Father, he
 “ triumphed over all Principalities and Powers.—The Mystery of our Salvation is
 “ shadowed under the Type of this Battle.”

Thus far *Paræus*. And, to support his Opinion that *Michael* and *Christ* mean the same Person, he there answers an Objection:

“ But how are the *Angels* joined with *Michael*
 “ in the Fight? *seeing Christ alone hath trod-*
 “ *den the Wine-Press*, &c. and overcame the
 “ *Dragon*.” To which he answers, very
 judiciously, and with that Simplicity pecu-
 liar to Men of deep Learning, “ This is to
 “ be referred to the *Decency* of the Vision ;
 “ for a Captain doth not use to fight with-
 “ out an Army ; and tho’ *Christ* fought the
 “ Battle Hand in Hand (as it were) with
 “ *Satan*, yet left he Occasion of combating
 “ unto his *Angels*, that so they might not
 “ stand still, and be Lookers-on only. The
 “ *Angels of Michael* were the *Apostles* ; so also
 “ the *Dragon* hath his *Angels*, which are
 “ his *Heads* and his *Horns*.” *Ibid*.

It is the Opinion of * *Rupertus*, *Haymo*,
Venerable Bede, and others, that the strong
Angel, mentioned in the *Revelations*, c. 7, is
Christ ; but I prefer the Opinion of *Ribera*,
 who will have it one of the five emissary
Angels, c. 5, 6, which to me seemeth
 plainly to be *Gabriel*, as he is called the *strong*
Angel by way of Eminence ; And their
 Opinion is not to be endured, who will have it
 to mean the Prophet *Hosea*, with *Alcesar* in
 his Investigations, and others ; and the

* *Vid. Expositiones Ruperti, l. 4.*

Reason they assign for calling him a strong Angel, (*viz.*) that he cried with a *strong Voice*, would tempt one to think they were beside themselves, as we see the strongest Men have oftentimes weak Voices, & *è contra*.

III. Before I leave *Paræus*, whose Simplicity can never be enough admired, I must add a subsequent Passage relating to the Dragon, p. 267. “ *Andreas* hath a Touch of “ the mystical Sense of this Victory of *Michael*, and the Downfal of the Dragon. “ And, that we should not believe him to be “ a natural Dragon, he sets him forth by “ his Name and Surname; whence we may “ know both his Disposition, and who he “ is. His Name is *Diabolos*, a Calumniator, “ and his Surname *Satan*, which, in the “ *Hebrew*, signifieth to resist:” Which, by the Way, serves to shew how ill-grounded the Assertion is of Dr. *Sb — ck* against *Chubb*, who says, *the Devil had no Name before the Flood*, when it is plain he had both a *Prænomen* and a *Cognomen*. But he goes on, “ With his Lyes he seduced our Mother “ *Eve*, with Impostures he caused the old “ World to be drowned, and has also been “ the first Inventor of *Heresies*.”

Brightman understands this Victory quite in another Sense, (*ibid.* in *Paræo*) and will have *Michael* to be *Constantine*, and the Dragon *Maxentius*; but this is trifling, for then *Constantine* must drive the Dragon out of

Heaven, which is absurd to imagine, he being, tho' a victorious Prince, not likely to do it by his Prayers, and the Arm of Flesh must have been ineffectual.

The learned *Forbesius*, in his *Theological Instructions*, p. 36, mentions *Christ*, upon the Authority of primitive Writers, as the *Angel* of the great Council, and the Dispenser of God's Favours, and the Performer of such Works as he commanded: *Nam per Filium dat ea quo dantur, neque est quicquam quod non per Filium Pater operatur.* And the Patriarch *Jacob*, in blessing *Ephraim* and *Menassab*, speaks after this Manner, *the God who preserved me from my Youth up until now, and the ANGEL who delivered me from all Evils, give a Blessing to these Lads.* I translate it from the *Chaldee Paraphrast*: But the Inference of *Forbesius* is wrong; as you may read it in the Margin *, where he concludes they must *be one*, from very weak Reasons, in my Opinion; as it is obvious, the very disjoining them in the Invocation shews he understood the first to *will*, and

* Non aliquem Angelorum creatorum, et qui naturâ Angeli erant, copulavit cum Deo Creatore, neque, omisso nutritio suo Deo, ab Angelo benedictionem nepotibus suis postulavit; sed cum *diserte dixerit*, qui liberavit me ex omnibus malis, ostendit, non ex creatis Angelis aliquem, sed *verbum Dei fuisse, quem Patri consociavit.* — Hunc enim magni consilii Patris Angelum dici noverat, nec alium nisi illum ipsum expressit, qui benedixit et liberat ex malis — quem Angelum nominavit, quia solus hic est qui Patrem revelat. *Ibid.*

the second to perform his *Will*. Nor does *Ribera's Exposition of the Revelations*, c. 22, v. 16, illustrate or give any Satisfaction in the Point. His Argument is this: In the first Chapter of *Revelations*, Jesus is said to be Lord of the Angels, and to *reveal to his Servants what should shortly come to pass*. In v. 6, of this Chapter, he says, the *Lord God of the Holy Prophets sent his Angel*, and v. 16, *I Jesus have sent my Angel*; by which copulative Expression he signifies to us, that the same who was Lord of the Prophets was Jesus the Giver of that Revelation. I allow the Word *και* is in the King of France's Copy, but apprehend it is rather *disjunctive* than *copulative* in that Place. And *Ribera* was no great Critic in the *Greek Language*, or a good Judge of the Oeconomy of the Christian Revelation, or else he would not have mistaken *John* the Baptist, the Præcursor of *Christ*, for *John* the Divine, who penned the Book of *Revelations*, and from thence infer, that, because *John* was greater than the Prophets, the *Lord of that John* must be as great as the Lord of the Prophets. His Reason, why *John* Baptist was greater in Dignity than the Prophets, is very ingenious, *viz.* that, in the Procession of a Prince, they who march first are Persons of least Note and Consideration, but rise in Quality as they proceed, until the immediate Preceder of the Prince's Person appears, who

who is always some prime Courtier and great Favourite. But, tho' I own myself very much pleased with the Observation, which shews he was no Stranger to Processions and Coronations; yet I cannot persuade myself, that it proves his Point, as his Argument is obviously founded on a Mistake.

IV. The Sum of what I would observe from the forecited Passages, is, that the Notion of the Author of the *Essay on Spirit*, that *Christ* is the same with the Angel *Michael*, is no new Notion, or hastily taken up; since, not to mention the distant Writers in the fourth and fifth Centuries, *Paræus*, a Professor and Lecturer in the University of *Heidelberg*, asserts it, as above quoted, and the Page referred to; and by the other Strictures, taken from Writers of Eminence, may easily be seen, that the Notion of *Angels*, *uncreated* as well as *created*, is crude and undigested; and indeed that all Writers about *Angels*, when we come to understand the prophetic Language rightly, will be found vague in their Opinions, and so widely differing from one another, as to serve only to puzzle and confound the Reader. As for Instance, Can any Thing be equal to the following Opinions about the *Water-Angel* in the *Revelations*? *Gagnæus* will have the *Angel*, who poured the Vial on Rivers and

Foun-

Fountains, to mean only Persecutions and Afflictions, because Waters and Floods, in Scripture, are often put for grievous Afflictions. *Ribera* will stick to the *Letter*; but, according to the *Letter*, he must prove that Rivers and Fountains shed the Blood of the Saints. *Lyra* has a Flight beyond them all, and is convinced the *Angel* of the Waters, who poured the Vial on the Fountains, till they became Blood, is no other than *Charlemagne*, who took Vengeance on the *Goths* and *Hunns*, who inhabited the Borders of the *Palus Mæotis*. And tho' there be no Springs in that Country, occasioned by the Flatness of it, yet he says, there are frequent Bubblings of Water, after the Manner of Springs, made from subterraneous Waters, which may very well pass for Springs, and the Number of *Hunns* killed thereon by *Charles's* Army might make the Waters sufficiently red; to entitle them to the Epithet of *Bloody*. Upon which a later Writer observes, that both he and his *Angel* must have been unacquainted with the Geography of the Country. In a Word, *Mahomet*, in his Dialogue with *Abdia* the Jew, is not more ridiculous than many Christian Writers are in their Dissertations on *Angels*; and the said Dialogue being rare, and in few Hands, I shall translate Part of it from *Forbesius's Theological Instructions*, p. 174. The Jew inquires why
Wine

Wine was drank so freely in *Paradise*, and not permitted on Earth ? He answers, *Arot* and *Marot* were two Angels sent down from Heaven in human Shape, to prohibit Murder, Injustice, and the Use of Wine. They were long famous for just Judgment and equitable Decrees, till a certain Woman brought before them a Cause against her Husband. She was fairer than all the Daughters of the East ; Joy had his Abode on her Lips, Music dwelt upon her Tongue, and everlasting Love in her Eyes ; she bespoke her Judges to a Repast : Their Viands were seasoned with the Spices of *Arabia* ; their Wine shed a Perfume like the Roses of *Bassora* ; and her own Hand, that presented it, was sweeter than the *Parian Jasmine*. Love succeeded to the Delights of Wine, and the Wildness of Expectation took the Place of Reflexion. She was strongly wooed, and promised Compliance on this Condition, that they told her the Word by which she might pass through the Guards of Heaven. She instantly ascended, and, making known the Occasion of her Coming, was in Recompence made the *Morning-Star*, which we now behold ; that she, who was fairest among the Daughters of Men, might be the brightest among the Stars in Heaven. But the Angels, who neglected to administer their Province with due Care, are kept in
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an Iron Chain, in the Pit of *Bebil*, till the Day of Judgment.

John Damascene, in his Book of *Heresies*, tells us, that the Descendants of *Hagar*, the Handmaid of *Abraham*, worshipped this Star on the Day of the Week answering to our *Friday*, which is also the Day of the *Hegira* of the *Turks*, or their *Sunday*, and the Beginning of the *Æra* of *Mabomet*'s Flight from *Medina*. The *Arabic* Word *Hagar*, meaning to *fly*, gave the Name to the Handmaid; and *Mabomet*'s Fiction and Institution of that Day for the first of the Week is plainly taken from the Heresy of the *Hagarens*. But I must farther observe on this Place, that *Mabomet*, who built his whole Imposture on the various Comments made on the Old and New Testament, had the Notion that *Angels* had the Government of Provinces committed to them, and were recalled and punished, or continued and rewarded, according to their good or bad Behaviour therein. As a farther Confirmation of what I have above proposed, I shall add some Extracts from the learned *Johannes Conradus Danbowerus*, in his *Theologia positiva*, where he defines an *Angel*, p. 199, *Spiritus creatus in veritate, ad veritatis perseverantiam, intelligens, liber voluntate, ordinatus ad ministeria præstanda Deo, et custodiam hominibus*.

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This seems to appear a just Definition of ministring Angles, and very different from the insidious one of *Atbanasius*, Quest. 30, where he would insinuate that Singing was the chief Business of an *Angel*, which is well nigh as ridiculous as the Opinion of *Timmerman*, who interprets the Voices and Singing in the Chapter of *Apocalypse* above-mentioned to mean the Bishop and Choiristers in the Cathedral Service; to which *Paræus* replies, *What need of Cathedrals in Heaven?* He says farther, *ibid.* they are not of a corporeal Substance, and consequently don't breed; and I must own his Reason is very extraordinary, and shall therefore not translate it, but give it in his own Words, p. 201, *Scripturæ sacræ non nisi unum modum propagandi humanum genus revelarunt. Alter modus, non nisi divinum Miraculum est.* And tho' he allows they can eat, when united to a human Body, yet is he positive, with St. *Austin*, that they are not nourished thereby, because, as *Rainoldus* reasons in his *Apocryphal Prelections*, they do not assume the Body *hypostatically*, for then it were inseparable, nor *perichoristically*, for then they would animate the Body, but they assume it *parachoristically* and *assistatively*; from whence it follows they can move the Body, and may be painted, not because they are corporeal, *Sed quia in corporea forma apparuerunt, ideo apparitio pingi potest*, p. 202.

V. It would be endless to recite the various Opinions of Writers on this Subject, and the Inconsistency and Contradiction with which they abound ; but, as I have had an Opportunity of thinking (of late) more of the Matter than others have had occasion to do, I will offer my Sentiments freely on this important Subject ; and, if I am in an Error, it will be the more pardonable, in that my present Notions are pretty much different from those I entertained when I wrote the First Part of the *Essay on Spirit*.

It is my present Opinion, that the Names given to *Angels* in the different Parts of Scripture, wherein they are mentioned, do not denote any particular Person of an Angel, either distinguished by permanent Rank, or perpetually to remain in any particular Employment. They are all Messengers of the Almighty, and changeable at Pleasure. One, who is To-day the *Angel of God's Presence*, may again be excluded from that immediate Presence, and not charged with that immediate Commission, which coming then forth from the divine Presence denotes. The same Angel, who is now *Michael*, or (as the Word denotes) constituted *Prince*, or Chief, among others specially employed, may another Time be placed under another *Michael*, or one appointed Chief in Command. The Angel *Gabriel*, the *strong Angel*, (as the Word implies) may be any Angel employed
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to manifest God's *strang Work*, or sent to the Relief of Men in Circumstances of Distress or Despair. To support this Opinion, I have many Authorities; but take that of *Abulensis*, in his Commentary on *Judges*, p. 138, *literâ H.*

“ *Angelus* apparens *Danieli* dictus est
 “ *Gabriel*, *i. e.* fortitudo Dei, quia veniebat
 “ reddere *Danielem* fortem. Sic dictus est
 “ *Angelus* qui venit ad Virginem Domi-
 “ nam nostram, *Luc. 1*, quia venerat ad
 “ indicandum opus Potentiæ vel Fortitudi-
 “ nis Dei, scilicet quod Virgo conciperet,
 “ quod erat impossibile Naturæ.” *The An-
 gel appearing to Daniel is called Gabriel, or
 the Strength of God, because he came to
 strengthen Daniel. So is the Angel called,
 who saluted the Virgin our Lady, in the first
 Chapter of St. Luke, because he came to indi-
 cate the great Power of God, who willed that
 a Virgin should conceive; a Thing contrary to
 Nature. It was also Gabriel, or a strong
 Angel, who was sent to comfort our blessed
 Jesus in his Agony, as an Angel ordinarily
 employed, or a Guardian Angel, was not
 sufficient for the Occasion, which required
 one specially for that extraordinary Event;
 nor was it possible Christ should have any
 Guardian Angel, himself being the Guar-
 dian and Lord of all the Angels, as is ob-
 served by *Ludovicus De Tena*, in his Com-
 ment to the *Hebrews*, *f. 4, n. 32.**

VI. I must farther note, that in many Places, tho' it is said that the *Angels* always behold the Face of our *Father which is in Heaven*, it is not meant that they are actually in Heaven at all Times, but they more immediately and intuitively enjoy the Influence of his Countenance, however remote (according to our limited Way of thinking) from the Heaven of Heavens, his more peculiar Abode. And when it is said, the bad *Angels* are deprived of the *Light of his Countenance*, is only meant they are discharged from his Protection, and left to the Wickedness of their own Will: For, that there are bad *Angels*, is a Thing never doubted; but, that God created them *bad*, and that from Eternity there were bad as well as good *Angels*, was the Heresy of *Hermannus Riswickius*, a *Fleming*, burnt by the Inquisition in *Flanders*, 1512; and the Reason assigned for his Assertion, viz. *that there is no Mention made of God's creating the Angels*, is frivolous, as it is expressly said in the Book of *Job*, c. 40, *Behold Behemoth, whom I have made*, &c. i. e. according to *Gregory* and *Jerome*, the *Devil*; and when he is called the *First of the Ways of God*, it means the first of the Creation of bad *Angels*, by way of Eminence called the first of that Work, or superior to the rest. For this Doctrine, vide *Alphonso de Castro*, l. 2. p. 33. But, tho' he be one of the most learned
of

of the Monks, I think it is more consonant to the whole Tenor of Scripture, and more consistent with the Notions we entertain of God, to suppose all Angels were at first created good, and became bad by their own Default, or Presumption.

The great *Picus Mirandula*, I own, is of a different Opinion, both from what I have advanced above, and from the Account I have given of *Angels* in the first Part of my *Essay*. He tells, *p.* 25, That there are three *Hierachies* of *Angels*, the *supreme* employed only in Contemplation and Praises, the *middle Hierarchy* destined to the active Offices in Heaven, the last to the Care of *sublunary* Affairs; and these last are divided into *Principalities*, *Archangels*, and *Angels*. The *Principalities* take Care of States and Kingdoms; the *Archangels*, as we learn from *Daniel*, about Mysteries and Things sacred; and plain *Angels* apply themselves only to private Affairs, and one is attendant on one Person *. Now, it will follow, if this Hypothesis be right, that *Michael* the Archangel could not be the Angel who went to War and defeated the Dragon, as, according to him, he must be

* Dividuntur in Principatus, Archangelos, et Angelos; Principatus circa Respublicas et Reges, Archangeli, ut ex Daniele cognoscimus, circa Mysteria et sacras Cerimonias, Angeli privati student rebus singulis, et singulis hominibus adhibentur. *Ibid.*

destined

destined to another Office; but indeed the whole Account given of Angels by that excellent and learned Prince is to the last Degree whimsical, as will appear, if we look on p. 28, where he divides the three *Hierarchies* into nine Spheres, making the first Sphere as it were Captain of all the rest, and Angels only the Furniture of the subordinate Spheres, *quasi sphaerae illius ornamentum*, making the Stars the Furniture of the eighth Sphere, and a Comment on the Words of *Daniel*, *a thousand Times ten thousand stood before him*.

And indeed he is sufficiently refuted by *Rabbi Ama*, in *libro reconditorum ad Psalm.* 19, as it is translated, in *Creatione sensibilibus utitur Deus symbolo intelligibilibus, ut designet Ministerium Angelorum sub nomine communi Michal, tanquam appellativo speciei Angelicæ*; to omit the Translation of which Passage, I shall recount what he farther has on this Subject, in a verbal Translation, as near as it will bear. “ All Things are directed by the Influence of Angels and
“ Spheres; the World of the Elements,
“ and in them Man, who is called a *little*
“ *World*, for in Man are all the Properties
“ of Things, both high and low: The
“ whole Scheme of which is signified mystically by the Letters of the Alphabet.
“ *Aleph*, the first Letter, denotes the Creation of Angels; *Beth*, the second De-
“ gree

“gree of Angels from the Creator ; *Gimel*,
 “the Angels who are robust and strong,
 “who are illuminated by those of the se-
 “cond Order, as they illuminate the fourth
 “Degree, *Dalet* ; *He* denotes the fifth
 “Emanation, called *Seraphim* ; *Vau*, the
 “Essence of the sixth Degree ; *Zain*, of
 “the seventh, who are called *Elohim*, i. e.
 “*Gods* ; *Heth* is the Sign of the eighth
 “Emanation, and are Angels, called *Bne*
 “*Elohim*, i. e. the *Sons of Gods* ; *Teth* is
 “the ninth, called *Cherubim* ; *Jod*, the
 “tenth Letter, signifies the tenth Emanation,
 “and is the Science of Things wonderful,
 “from which proceed prophetic
 “Visions. By which are finished the Angelical
 “Classes or Choirs.”

Now, tho’ this Kind of Literature may be lightly esteemed in the present learned Age, and not altogether absurdly, by such as have not looked narrowly into *recondite Erudition* ; yet a thorough Attention to it is absolutely necessary to all, who would rightly understand the Notions and Opinions I have offered to the learned World, in the first Part of my *Essay* ; and, particularly, as the Rector of *Gaulthill*, in the Diocese of *Oxford*, seems to have a Turn to these Speculations, I recommend to him a diligent Perusal of the following Writers, in order to qualify him for apprehending the Analogy of my Arguments, and continued Deductions

ductions in that Treatise; before he insists so dogmatically, and obtrudes on the World a System of his own, no Part of which was ever heard of before, or would be endured among Men of Genius and Letters, who were not compelled *jurare in Verba Magistri*. And, to give him as much Assistance in this Point as possible, and abridge the Task, I shall mention but a few of those eminent Writers, among many, and have taken some Trouble to range them alphabetically.

Albunasar Alphabarabius, excellent in the didactick Way. *Aboasar*, on the Properties of *Entities*. *Abenragel*, on Lapses of *Angels*. *Antonius Cronicus* and *Alphonfus Cronicus* de Erroribus, adversus Fratres atratos. *Avicena* de influenza sententiarum Angelorum. *Bernardus Berengarius* of the *Esprim* and *Varba*, and the prophetic Language. *Dodecathamoriarius*, on the Precedence of Spirits. *Epicurus* Passim. *Esdra*s on the Vowels. *Gotofredus* de fontibus firmamenti. *Jamblicus Chaldæus*, de materia prima. *Moses Gerundinensis*, the most celebrated of the modern Jewish Doctors, on the Disposition of *Days* and *Years*. *Melito* de effigie Dei, thought a Madman by some, and highly esteemed by others, the Fate of many a worthy Writer! *Plotinus* of Ideas. *Victorinus Pitaviensis*, of the Method of interpreting

terpreting Signs. *Zamolxis*, on the Truth of *Magic*.

I have here mentioned but a few of those Authors, the Reading carefully of which is, as it were, the first Rudiments of useful Learning; and I cannot help expressing my Surprise, that Men of any Profession should venture to appear among the Learned, who perhaps have read, even these few only, in a cursory Manner, and, not improbably, some of them, in the vague Translations of partial and incompetent Translators.

VII. It was doubtless from Neglect of this Inquiry, that many Things in the *Essay* have startled the Readers, to whom they have not been so familiar as to Persons conversant in the Authors above mentioned, and from hence have concluded, that these (to them novel) Opinions have been first broached by the Author of that Treatise; whereas in Fact there is nothing in the whole Composition, that some Person of Eminence, of some Religion or other, hath not previously unfolded to the World; but have been much out of the Way of modern Reading, as not being adapted to the present Age, which seems to require *Demonstration* in every Branch of Literature and Science, instead of Authority, Probability, or moral Inference.

I own the Design hath merited Regard, had the Success been equal to the Under-

taking, or had it been possible to draw Conclusions, where there was no Possibility of laying down Premises. One undertakes to demonstrate Morality by A's and B's, by *plus* and *minus*, i. e. to be *Euclid* without *El ments*, and an *Algebraist* without *Quantities*. Another will demonstrate God and his Attributes *a Priori*, and rides on successfully for a Time, till, finding himself gravelled, he slyly slips in an Argument *a Posteriori*, on which to form a Conclusion, *de Priori*, as may be seen in the third and eleventh (as I think) of the so infallible Dr. Clark. Another, Eminent among his own Countrymen and Fellow-Believers, supersedes all Necessity of Thinking on the Point, and has made a Present to the World of *one Sense* more than niggardly Nature had allowed them; a *Moral Sense*; by which you may feel every Thing, without feeling any Thing; and the Seat of that Feeling, as far as I can guess, he has not placed in the Head, but somewhere about the *Pericardium*, and may possibly be discovered in some future Age, if another *Rysab* and another *Nicols* should arise. One again insists that all Morality is founded on this simple Proposition, that you must never forget to call a *Spade* a *Spade*, a *Horse* a *Herse*, or an *Ass* an *Ass*, and from thence demonstrates, you can never err, or give wrong and indistinct Attributes to any Thing, unless it should happen that the Object of your Consideration

sideration be the complicated Animal vulgarly called a *Male*. Another (for we have Moralists in Heaps) makes *Vice* to be *Virtue*, so that, if you always intend to *do ill*, you will be sure to *do well*.

It may be wondered I should class together Men so admired, and Men so little regarded, of such wonderful Talents, and such buffoon Accomplishments; but let it be believed on the Word of *one*, who had it from *another* not equalled by any living, that, when the Time shall come, when Men will be wise enough to perceive and own that the Wisdom of God may possibly be greater than the Wisdom of Man, these great Enlighteners of the present Age, whom we consider with Adoration, and speak of with Rapture, will be little distinguished from their Imps and Followers. *Clark* will no longer make Scripture, or *Shaftsbury* Reason. The *Demonstrations* of the first will turn upon himself, and the *divine Enthusiasm* of the latter will find a just Parallel in the *mock Inspiration* of a *crack-brained Methodist*.

VIII. But to return from this Digression. I shall in the next Section obviate some Objections, which I understand have been frequent in Men's Discourses on my *Essay*, tho' not as I have seen in Print, concerning my Exposition of God's denying *Moses* a Sight

of his Face, on which Passage I have since consulted many Commentators.

God said to *Moses*, *thou canst not see my Face*, &c. as it is vulgarly rendered, but better, according to *Rhamban Nebemani*, as *Picus Mirandula*, page 840, comments the Passage, “ *thou canst not see my Faces*,” in the Plural, i. e. the *Tetragrammaton*, “ *but my Name shall be heard coming after me* ;” which the *Cabbalists* uniformly explain, I will proclaim that great Name before thee, *Exodus*, chap. xxxiii. v. 19. *I will make all my Goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of the Lord*; and from thence it is plain, that the *Faces*, or Representatives of God, are one and the same Thing, and that is, the *Tetragrammaton*. And *Onkelos* says expressly, *Tetractyn creavit Cælum & Terras*; and *Rabbi Eliezer*, *ab initio, cum non esset ulla res, erat penitus Nomen Dei & Sapientia ejus*; and *Akiba*, with some little Variation, in his Book of the Explanation of the *Aleph*, *nil erat nisi Deus, & nomen ejus, & sapientia ejus, & non nisi hæc tria receptio nostra continet, quæ erat prima porta Creationis*, which I leave to others to translate from the Latin of *Picus*, p. 841; and the *Targum of Jerusalem* has it, *Deus Tetragrammatys creavit Cælum in sapientia sua*, *ibid.*

I have recounted these Passages, lest they be mistaken by the Bulk of Readers, as Arguments

guments against what I have advanced in the first Part of the *Essay*, namely, that by God's *hinder Parts* is meant that which should come after him, as the hinder Parts always come after, and therefore may be understood to mean any Thing else that comes after. Now, the *Cloud* and the *Light*, that conducted the Children of *Israel*, came after this Conference with *Moses*, and might be here meant. To fortify which Opinion, take the Words of *David*, *I have prepared a Lanthorn for mine Anointed*, which seems to appear to mean, (quite different from the vulgar Reception of the Passage) that the *Light*, which went before the Children of *Israel* by Night, was contained in a *dark Lanthorn*, so as to be visible only to them, and turn the dark Side to all the rest of the Nations, thro' which they passed. The Objection, that, on this Interpretation of the Passage, the *Children of Israel* must be meant by God's *Anointed*, is trifling and frivolous; for to *anoint*, means only to set apart or consecrate, and the Children of *Israel* were set apart and chosen. And *Esaiab* says, *the Nations shall walk by this Light*, as indeed it was impossible for them to walk in the Dark; as *Aristotle* very justly observes in his Book *de Animâ*, οὐκ ὁραμεν ἀνευ φωτός, i. e. nothing can be seen without Light. *Id quod arbitror esse verum*, says *Hermolaus Barbarus*, modo liceat dixisse cum pace *Pictorum*; that

that is, it *should seem to be true, if one durst say it without offence to the Painters*, with whom it is a Maxim that nothing can be seen without *Shade* ; to reconcile which Contradiction, I take both *Aristotle* and the Painters to mean the same Thing, only set in different Lights. *Aristotle* means that nothing can be seen in the *Dark* without *Light*, and the *Painters* that nothing can be seen in the *Light* without a dark *Shade* ; which, by the Way, may serve to explain *Milton's visible Darknes*.

But to finish this Head on Light and Angels, I shall translate a Passage of *Rabbi Solomon Gaius*, on the 30th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, for the Benefit of vulgar Readers, and perhaps it may be agreeable to the Learned, as the Original is unpointed. " There is a
 " *Light* giving Intelligence of Things pre-
 " ceding without a Beginning, and is named
 " *Glory the first*, because none of the Things
 " created can approach to its Essence and
 " Verity. There is a second, giving sanc-
 " tifying Intelligence, named the *Parent of*
 " *Faith*, as by it Faith is infused. A third,
 " called *absolute Intelligence*, and is the In-
 " tention of the *Beginnings*, which did not
 " plant any Thing into its own majestical
 " Recesses, as infused from any Thing pre-
 " ceding. A fourth, called the *purifying*
 " *Intelligence*, which disposes *Beginnings*
 " and *Extremities*, so as to avoid Disper-
 " sions.

“ fions. A fifth, the *illuminating Intelligence*, and is itself *Hafmal*, the *Angel* of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, and is a Species of *Electricity* instituting the Sanctuary of the Secrets of Animal Beings, and ordering their Intentions.”

He goes on, “ These are the *strong Angels*, by whom, as is supposed, *Moses*, that Worker of Miracles, divided the Sea even to the dry Land, as they are *dividing Angles*. And it is said, *God divided the Nations according to the Number of the Angels*. And *Rabbi Joseph Ben Carnitol* supposes, planted the 70 Palm Trees about the 12 Fountains of the Valley of *Sin*, recorded by *Moses*.”

IX. I must stop here to remark, that Doctor *Shaw* found but 7 Fountains there, which I have reconciled in my Chronology; and, tho’ the Book be in the Hands of all the Learned in *Europe*, I must here repeat my Reasons, for supposing that *Gabriel Shaw* (that was a Nick-name of his at *Oxford*;) and *Moses* might both be right, and leave no Room for Objections to the scriptural Account, or Suspicion of *Shaw*’s only sending his *Arabian Guide* to see how many Wells he could find there, as some whiffling Collegians suggested, and passing the Time himself with some Merchants under a Palm Tree, over Dates and *English Beer*, supplied them by our Factory at *Alep-*

po:

po : For let it be considered, it is a great while ago since *Moses* saw those Wells, and, in the Interval, Earthquakes might have happened, or the Wind might have filled them with Sand, or the Reservoirs might have found some subterraneous Channel, or the *Arabs* might have drank them up when they rendezvouzed in great Numbers there, according to *Juvenal's* Thought, *epotaque flumina Medo prandente*. And I take this Opportunity to offer a Theory to the Consideration of the *Royal Society*, which, if I am not mistaken, will settle all farther Disputes concerning Earthquakes, and be a farther Explanation of the Laws of Motion and Gravitation, as well as a Confirmation of my System of Philosophy, in the first Part of the *Essay*, where I have ventured to assert, that *some Spirit accompanies every Particle of Matter*.

The old Theories, and fanciful Conjectures about Earthquakes, are too trifling for the Notice of Philosophers ; so I shall pass them by. Nor can I agree either with Dr. *Hales's* new Theory on Occasion of the last Earthquake, or the Bishop of *L——n's* Conjecture thereon ; the first attributing it to *superterraneous Fire*, and the second making a *Miracle* of it, or, what is more extraordinary, a natural Consequence of immoral Interludes, *French Fashions*, Wire - Wigs, E. O. Brag, and other idle Games, being practised

practised by Prentices and Boarding-School Girls. I take them to arise from Quarrels and Contests, that may from Time to Time happen among the Spirits, to whose Care and Conduct the several Proportions of Matter are assigned, of which this System of Earth and Air is composed. It must be owned, we are quite ignorant of the Causes that induce Spirits to quarrel, and, if I may be allowed the Expression, exercise *mortal* Enmity towards each other; but that they have frequent Bickerings among themselves, we are sufficiently warranted to assert: And I am convinced the Stories, so discredited and laughed at, of Noises heard in the Air, of raining Blood, and other analogous Accounts, may deserve more Attention than is afforded them in the present Age; if we consider it probable, that the Space of Atmosphere, where these Things are said to have happened, may possibly be Scene of some Battle in due Form. And I take Earthquakes to be occasioned by some regular Siege, when the weaker Army has Recourse to Entrenchments, and have strongly fortified themselves in the Bowels of the Earth, and the enraged Victors employ all the Blimstone they can collect to blow the skulking Spirits once more into their native Air, where they must feel the Indignation, or own the Clemency, of the *Victors*. But this Theory I obtrude on no one, tho', I must own, less liable to Objection, (in my

Opinion at least) than *Burnet's* Theory of the Earth; the Vortexes of *Descartes*, or even *Newton's* Theory of the Tides.

X. Having dispatched, in the preceding Sections, the whole Subject of *Spirits, Angels, Cherubims*, and all their Sub-denominations, and thereunto added the Interpretations and Opinions of some very learned, as well as rational Persons, which I desire the Reader more carefully to peruse, in the several Originals referred to ; and, as I humbly conceive, have left little more to be said by any who shall come after me. on the Subject, unless they follow Fancy and Whim, more than solid Reason and sound Divinity ; I intend to proceed to a further Consideration of some Things I understand have give Offence in my *Essay*, relating to the Creation of the World, and the Act of Uniformity, as well as to the *Athanasian Creed*, and the Doctrines, which, since my publishing that *Essay*, have been revived and asserted by two or three Writers, particularly the Rector of *Gaulkshill*, in the Diocese of *Ossory*, whom I shall consider as the only one entitled to a professed Answer, as (if I am rightly informed) he was assisted in that Work by a Right R——d on the Bench, none of whom has complied with my Request *confessedly*, to my no small Surprise and Amazement.

Athana-

Athanasius, in Refutation of *Gregor. Fa-*
bell. p. 515, tome 1, in his Epistle to the
 Council of *Nice*, hath these Words, ἀρχο-
 μενον εκ παλτος, λαμβανεν υιο, φανερευμενον δια-
 πνευματος, *The Beginning was from the Fa-*
ther; the Light is in the Son, reflected by the
Spirit; or, as his Interpreters chuse more
closely to render it, the Father is the first
Light, the Son the RIGHT Light, first born,
the Spirit a reflex Light, produced from the
mutual and reflected Light of the Father and
the Son. And *Lactantius*, l. 4, *de vera sa-*
pientia, c. 29, illustrates the three Persons
 by a Spring, a Fountain, a River; the last
 produced by the two former. Another,
 from a Tree, the Root, the Trunk, and the
 Branches. *Gregory Nazien.* in his 39th
 Oration, where he also goes on, a three-co-
 loured Rainbow, a Triangle, Trefoil, called
 with us *Shamroge*: By which Weed, so fre-
 quent in this Country, *St. Patrick* illustrated
 the Trinity to the Natives, and gave Occa-
 sion to the Custom of honouring that Weed
 annually, when we commemorate the Saint
 on the 17th of *March*. Again, by a Cir-
 cle, in which is a Centre, a Radius, and a
 Circumference, which three are so much
one, that we cannot separate them, even in
 Imagination. I would not be so ludicrous
 as to mention here sundry other Illustra-
 tions, which Men have taken from their
 own particular Profession and Occupation in

the World, if they did not help to ~~show~~ us the Absurdity, as well as Inconsistency, of endeavouring to bring down to human Apprehension, what is not only above it, but must cease *to be*, or answer the End designed, the Moment it is explained or demonstrated. A Lawyer on the Bench illustrates it by the three Judges; one is the Court, two the Court, and three make only the Court. A practical Mathematician, by the three Dimensions, without which no Particle can exist. A Chymist, from his three Salts. All which are wondrously ridiculous, and the last puts me in Mind of an Accident that befel an ingenious Youth at the University, when examined on the Subject, who readily found out two of them, *sal volatile*, *sal fixum*, and for the third was forced to bring in *Salmasius*. At this Rate of solving Difficulties, there can be no Difficulty in the World, as long as Matter, and Men, and Trades, shall remain in it. But indeed there is nothing more difficult to account for, than that so many rational Men, in all Ages of Christianity, should torture their Invention and Wit for *Reasons*, where *no Reason* can take Place, and where bare apprehending the Terms of the Proposition is all was ever intended for them; that they should run away from the most obvious Conclusion, ever offered to the Conception of Man, and hunt after one, where no Premises

Premises can be had, from which to draw an Inference. Is this Reason, or no? If the Trinity be a *Mystery*, let it remain so. If it be not, reject it. But then be very sure it is not revealed; for, if there be one Passage in the whole Scripture, where it is in Terms asserted, then ten thousand other drawn together with confederated Force, which seem to contradict, lessen, or obscure the Evidence on which it stands, are just so many *Nothings* in that Place, and prove nothing but Men's Incapacity and Conceit. Will an hundred Arguments, that come near Demonstration, overturn one Demonstration? Will all the Opinions of the World destroy one moral Certainty? Or shall all the unallowed, unadjudged Proofs of Antiquity be taken now for good Testimony, only because they are pieced by the supplemental Evidence of a *Clark*? I say supplemental, which is never admitted against positive Proof, or to prove a Negative. That there is such a Passage in Scripture as affirms the Proposition, is allowed. To ask, what Use in Religion of believing Propositions we don't understand? The Answer to which [we don't know] is manifestly transferring the Question, and is always very improperly blended with the other, to the greatly perplexing and puzzling the Unwary. Ay, says the ingenious Opposer, but is said only once. Allowing, but not granting

granting this, must it be the less an Object of Faith? *God is Spirit*, is said but once. Are we therefore not to believe that *God is Spirit*? But it happens there are other Passages, two of the plainest of which two great Men undertake to expunge, *reclamantibus omnibus cod.* Mr. *Locke* took the Trouble of undoing all the Chapters and Verses, into which, the Epistle of St. *Paul* was thrown in our Bibles, to have an Opportunity of breaking off a Sentence in the Middle, which, taken entire, overthrew their System; and brings in the latter Part, as a Note of Exclamation! which, he condescends to tell us, is frequently done by great Orators. But it happens, St. *Paul* was no Orator at all, as he himself asserts. Dr. *Clark* chuses for the Subject of a Sermon a Text, asserting the Trinity in Unity, *totidem verbis*, where he slyly insinuates his Doubt of its being genuine, but leaves the direct Disproof of it to others, who had not sworn to the the Belief of it, and only explains away the Sense of every Word. Now, it is easy to observe, that this great Man was afraid he did really believe the Passage to be genuine, and, lest that his subaltern Free-thinkers should not be able to expunge it, he provided this Remedy against the worst that might happen, and, by confounding and puzzling the plain and ordinary Sense, left them a Cloud for a Cover, to retreat to.

Were

Were a learned Heathen to hear and judge in this Controversy, I am positive in Opinion, he would thus far decree, that the Opposers of the Article will have every Passage unimpeached that makes for them, and every one condemned that is against them. They will have the Words to be figurative, which assert it in Terms, but plain and clear, which seem to oppose it.

XI. Were it allowable to divert ourselves on such an Occasion, it were easy to pick Matter of Entertainment from the Behaviour of Divines, both great and small, who have formed themselves in a Body to oppose this Article of Faith. The Solemnity of the Leaders is not less ridiculous than the Zeal of their Followers. The first, grave and significant, sage in their Looks, and gentle in Deportment, waving the Advantages of superior Abilities, and profound Erudition, ready to be instructed, and catch every Ray of Light that may direct them to Truth, searching for her as hidden Treasure. Dear Truth! above all worldly Possessions. Virtue! the loveliest of all Beings, (only she happens to be no Being at all) condescending to extol and encourage the slowest Racer for this glorious Prize; void of Vanity, dead to the Word, *wanting nothing this World can give them*, to use the Words of their leading P——e, when he had got all it could give him, before.

Different,

Different, not less entertaining, is the Air and Mien of their aspiring Train-men. Eager in Pursuit, loud in Tongue, pressing forward, right or wrong, to bring themselves into Notice, and make a Figure in the Chace, tho' they over-run the Scent, and give no small Trouble to their Masters to bring them in.

To see a Knot of them at *Child's* *, assembled on any important Occasion, when a new System is to be exhibited, or a new Adversary to be quelled; how collected in his Looks sits the leading Rector of —, weighing the Sum of Things, communicating his Lights, hearing graciously, and enjoying modestly his own Sentiments, returned for his Approbation, only a little varied, according to the Genius of his Admirers! But, when some adventurous Stranger puts in an Objection, or, as we vulgarly say, throws them a *Bone to pick*, 'tis then the Scene is varied: Rage or Contempt appears in every Look, staring Indignation, and Disdain that scorns Reply. And, indeed, it must be owned an insufferable Insult to pretend, among great Men, great either by their Wit or Station, to any farther Share than to listen and admire; an objecting Look is too much, even a pondering Face should be spit upon, and the Owner kicked out of Company.

* The Coffee-House in London, where the Clergy meet.

XII. My Reader may chance to wonder, that, in some Sections of this genuine Sequel, I seem to contradict my former Opinions of Men and Things, and fail in my Regards to those great Men, who have engrossed the Admiration of the Learned; but I must acquaint the World in this Place, that the Hint of the *Essay* was not my own, and indeed most of the Materials collected by another studious and grave Divine, who, if he had lived long enough, might have been an Ornament to the Church; and, since Mr. ——— published a Treatise in Opposition to my former Sentiments, I think fit not to be so tenacious of my Opinions, and have gathered together the above Authorities, only to justify my falling in with the Authors Opinions; and have sufficiently testified my Approbation of Mr. ———'s Book, by doing him a small Piece of Service, when it lay in my Power.

It was a good while imagined, I was preparing for the Press a *Sequel* to corroborate the *Essay*, which, I suppose, gave Occasion to the conceited Mr. T——, of N——, to hasten that long-laboured Piece, which *he writ only for the Satisfaction of a few Friends*, and obtrude it on the World for mine, notwithstanding his artful Hint that I am not the Author, which serves only to impress the Opinion deeper on the Reader. And,

H

I take.

I take this Opportunity to make my *Recantation* in Form. I renounce *Clark*, *Shaftsbury*, *Mandeville*, and *Morgan*; all the *Rabbins* and *German Divines*, *Lutber* only excepted; *Spinosa*, *Servatus*, and *Valentinus Gentilis*; the *Swiss Martyrs*, and the *Northern Creed*; and hope to continue truly orthodox, tho', I must own, such Antagonists as the Rector of *Gaulkshill*, and two or three paltry Scribblers, who have appeared against me, are enough to provoke a Man to Perseverance in Error, by the frightful Appearance in which they dress up Truth, which had better come abroad in her Birth-Day Suit, than be cloathed by them in such unbecoming Garb. And I seriously recommend it to all intended Authors, to use fair Play with themselves, to slip into the World one anonymous Piece, where they have made a brisk Effort of Genius, and taken the Advantage of their brightest Moments; if it takes, to go on; if not, to lay down their Pen, and not think to grow up to Authors, by engaging a Party for them, or opposing Establishments, only because they dare.

A P P E N D I X.

IN my Dedication of the *Essay on Spirit*, I mentioned, with Circumstances of Regard, the *Free and Candid Disquisitions*, and am now, I think, obliged to give my Sentiments to the World concerning the Design and Composition of the Book so entitled, both as it shews what all the unrestrained Part of the Clergy, as well as Laity, of these Kingdoms are aiming at, and beside lays down a Plan for a Root-and-Branch Reformation in Faith and Discipline; for enlarging the Bounds of our Vineyard, that the Vine, which has been planted so long in these Isles, may, in a literal Sense, have Room, at last, to extend her Branches to the Seas, and to the Floods. A Plan truly comprehensive, and formed, as the Authors tell us of themselves, by Men of great Candor and Elevation of Thought, of Ingenuity and liberal Education, complete Erudition, useful Knowledge, refined Breeding, Humility, Sweetness of Temper, and every good Quality that perfects and distinguishes the human Race *: Among whom all the *Desiderata* may be found in Plenty, which,

* Vide *Advertisement* Passim.

before the World was blessed with this illustrious Club, existed only in Contemplation, or were faintly shadowed out in the ingenious Treatises of modern Moralists.

It is my Design to examine on what Foundation these mighty Pretensions are founded, and (since I have changed my Mind in Regard to my former Belief and Opinions) very freely remark on the Intentions, as well as Abilities, of these confederated Reformers, tho' I despair of doing it with that Ingenuity they bespeak in their Advertisement †, of which they have beforehand constituted themselves Judges, excluding all others from a Share in determining whether any Writer shall deserve their Notice or Contempt; and consequently I expect beforehand to be favoured with their Silence.

As to their Intentions, they may easily be discovered in every Part of their motly Essay, from the Title-Page to the Conclusion, without acquainting the Reader, that this hopeful Attempt was begun by a few of the *London Divines*, under the Direction of Dr. *Clark*, and the Encouragement of B——p H——y, who, to forward this glorious Work, invited Men of all Sects, Persuasions, and Opinions, of any or no Belief, to speak and write freely their Sentiments, No-

† P. 15.

tions; and Fancies, on all Matters relating to Religion, natural or revealed, established or permitted; who were all sure of being seconded and supported, provided they were against the Church established, or denied the Scriptures, however mean might be their Performances, or contemptible their Characters. No Art was left unpractised to bring Men over to their Party, or Flattery to keep them there. No Wonder then they have increased and multiplied to such a Degree, as to be bold enough to look Government in the Face, or, more properly, to assume it to themselves; to decide and arbitrate with insolent Humility; to insinuate Contempt of our Constitution, and openly to extol her Enemies, and their Designs against her. It is to be hoped, their next Step (which they seem to avow) will be to compile new Articles and Canons, and impose them on the Church; and, for what I can see, they will find a ready Concurrence, without waiting for the Sanction of Convocations and Parliaments. They are a Majority already, and we are actually in the State and Condition of *Athens*, when the Governors were more numerous than the Governed. They are sensible of their Strength, and make their Address to the Government only for Form Sake. The Truth of which Assertion I shall make appear from their own Words.

To begin then with their Title-Page, after premising that every Word of this notable Treatise has undergone the severest Examination that perhaps any Work ever did before ; so that nothing can be allowed to Accident or Inadvertency, where such stupendous Genius's, accurate Criticks, and finished Writers (as they modestly call themselves) have set their last Hand and Mark of Approbation.

—*Consultite in medium, — nunc res ipsa vocat,*—is their chosen Motto.—In plain *English*, Let us rise to a Man,—If our Governors won't redress us, we'll do't ourselves.—*Res ipsa vocat,*—Our All is at Stake, and Self-Preservation requires our Hands as well as Hearts.

To advance RELIGION in the Church of England. I would not swear it, but I firmly believe the Word Religion was put in *Roman* Letters, to insinuate there is no Religion in the Church as at present established ; if they meant it as a manufactured Piece of Satire, it is beneath such great Men ; if the Printer did it, they were in Fault to leave it uncorrected. But to pass by this, and Archdeacon *Reynold's* private Judgment and Discoveries in Religion, let us see what the Historian of these eminent Men says of them, who, to be sure, made their Panegyrick of himself, and never let them see it, for Fear of shocking their Modesty. The Authors, he says, judged rightly in putting their
Scheme

Scheme into the Hands of a very worthy and eminent Prelate, &c. and that in Manuscript.

What he means by judging rightly, I can't understand; if it mean any more than submitting it to the Judgment of one whom they were sure of beforehand, this indeed was judging wisely, and what I would recommend to all Writers on all Subjects, especially where the following Ends are aimed at.

First, † to prove an *English* Convocation a Representative of the Laity, as well as Clergy, and that they are the most contemptible Body of Men that ever formed an Assembly. Where they got this Definition of a Convocation is hard to say, and not to be found in any History of Convocations, from the first held at *Verulam*, *Anno* 446, to the last of *Queen Ann.* Their having a Right formerly to sit with the Parliament in the same Chamber does no whit prove it. Their Design, however, is to insinuate that the Laity have a Right to make Changes in the Church, and in Forms of Worship, whenever they please. Again, the great Respect they shew throughout their whole Work to the Convocation and Governors in general, is well seen by their Quotation from *Godolphin* ‡, which they introduce by

† P. 5.

‡ P. 6.

saying,

saying, "It is too true,—the Jest and Scorn
 "of the Nation,—the most despicable
 "Convention in the World, &c." and
 mournfully add, *pudet hæc opprobria no-*
bis, &c.——What *nobis*? All the Dissen-
 ters, Republicans, Arians, Socinians, and In-
 fidels of every Hue, throughout the King-
 dom. Let them not tell us, this is *Godol-*
phin's Remark, and not theirs. They have
 adopted it, and add, with no less Truth
 they say, "That the Presbyterians and Qua-
 "kers have their Synods, where they settle
 "Matters, relating to their own Discipline,"
 without any of that Infamy on their Cha-
 racter, or Disadvantages in their Debates,
 which are inseparable from Convocations.—
 And why is this? They tell us, because
 they are voluntary Societies. Here's the
 Mask off at setting out, and the whole
 Scheme laid open. Let us have no Govern-
 ment in the Church, but be at Liberty to
 agree upon a Religion of our own, and
 change it as often as we think fit. Let no
 Religion or Church be incorporated into the
 Civil Constitution, and then there can be
 no Sacramental Test.—*Hinc omne principium,*
huc refer exitum.—Turks and Infidels,
 Mankins and Highlanders, may fill all
 Places in Church and State. Quakers may
 be Lord Chancellors, and Jews Chief Ba-
 rons. Bonzees and Talapoins may admi-
 nister

nister Sacraments, and Hottentots teach us the Religion of Nature.

Is it not pleasant, after this Overture, to hear them talking of their Reserve and Modesty * in setting forward the good Design, and the prudent Conduct they have used towards opening a more free Conversation about Religion, and more candid Examination than has been usual ?

I must beg leave to acquaint these Gentlemen, their Book is not complete for want of a Glossary, which is much more to be desired, than their Prefaces, Notes, Hints, N. B.'s, and other frippary Introductions, with which they have loaded their beloved Composition. For want of this, they are desired to explain, in their next Edition, what they mean by *free Conversation*, &c. †. We are apt to believe, that blaspheming Christ in monthly Papers and weekly Sermons, as well as nightly Clubs, is being pretty free on the Occasion, and seems to admit only of one Improvement, (*viz.*) that every B—p should injoin the Practice before Admission into Orders, and every Placeman swear he has no Belief, (except in the glori-Memory) before he takes his Place at the Board. I can see nothing else wanting to complete their Wishes on that Head, nor how any greater Candor can be in the

* P. 10, 11. † *Vide* their Postscript in the Beginning of the Book.

Church, than to allow her Sons to give up every Article of Faith held by the Church, to speak and write against them, and the more they speak and write against God and his holy Word, more and more to load them with Church Preferments. I insist therefore, that we have a Demand on them to explain their hard Words, and know what it is they would be at, when they use such doubtful Phrases, and also to say, whether any Church has the truly Christian Mark on her, like ours, (*viz.*) *to love her Enemies*, and prefer them before her genuine Sons.

Come we now to the well-penned Address, dated *January, Ann. 1746*, to begin the new Year of glorious Reformation, and be a joyful Æra, celebrated thro' Ages hence, in States unborn, and Accents yet unknown.

The first five Pages of their Introduction are wholly taken up with their own Praises, with Candour, refined Breeding, Calmness, Temper, Respect, and every Thing that can charm and delight ; together with bespeaking the same Qualities from those who may differ in Opinion, as far as it may lie in their Power, (for it seems they don't expect to be equalled ;) and afterwards they open their Design by some general Remarks, much elder than the Church, and may serve to support the Character they assume of wise Men,

Men, *e. g.* “ Nothing human can be perfect, Defects may be supplied, Experience is a choice Thing, Things may be well instituted, and ill regulated, in plain Words, Laws may be good, and not enforced. Change of Circumstances, (which in every State will necessarily happen with the Revolution of Time)” — I suspect here a *Misnomer*, it ought to be Revolution of Government, which will make their Argument clear. It is well known, Arianism and Socinianism came in with the Revolution of 88, and the only Misfortune attending that happy Event, was the Introduction of all the Deism that has prevailed since, and was only an Improvement on Socinian Principles, and, to use their own Words, “ points out the Necessity of altering some Things,” *i. e.* of throwing out of our Liturgy all Creeds and Rubricks which may give Offence to the tender Consciencés of a *Blount*, *Coward*, *Collins*, or *Toland*, with the whole Body of Unitarians, and prevent the Conversion of any *Morocco* Ambassador, who may hereafter reside among us; it being well known, the above-named Gentlemen had well-nigh made a Convert of his Excellency *Hadgi Mebmet Beg*, who only boggled at the Trinity *, if you chuse to believe them.

* *Vide* Unitarian's Address to his Excellency.

But, to leave farther remarking on this Chapter at present, let us come to their first great Point, the *present Translation of the Bible*, and their modest Proposals for mending it. "However incongruous in Fact," they say, "it is, yet we ought to reflect " that we deal with no Book as we do with " our Bible * ; that our Taste is refined, " that consequently other Books are adorned " in their Translations with Elegance and " Grandeur. But our sacred Books are not " allowed this reasonable Favour, though " they so loudly demand it, and the Times " make it necessary." Was ever, in one Page, such conspicuous Folly? Ornament and Elegance! and the enticing Words of Man's Wisdom must be substituted for the Gospel Simplicity, or else Men of Taste will never be prevailed on to read; the Humour of the Times must be complied with, or People will be apt to grow peevish. Nay, as often as our Taste and the Times change, our Translation must change too, and become fashionable. Seriously, these Gentlemen have a peculiar Cast of Head, or else Men of their Sense could never be so afflicted, as they own themselves to be, for Want only of a little Finery of Bible; and they seem to be nearly allied to *Longolius* the *Ciceronian*, who is brought in by *Eraf-*

mus, giving the History of our Saviour in the following Words *, “ *Jesus Christ*, the “ Word and Son of the eternal Father, “ &c.” — In his elegant Language, *optimi Jovis interpres ac filius, juxta Vatum responsa, ex Olympo devolavit in terras, et sponte pro salute Reipublicæ sese devovit Diis Manibus*, &c. This is not more ridiculous than many Passages of the Scripture Versions offered to the Consideration of the Publick, by the candid Disquisitors, and elegant Translators of the Gospel, at sundry Times, since the Year 1725, whose improved Versions, when set by ours, shew like Tinsel to Silver, (as any one may be convinced, who will give them a Perusal) and greatly debase the simple Majesty both of Narration and Description in the sacred Penmen.

It is not however denied, and they might have spared the great Names they have cited to prove it, that the genuine Sense of the Original is not always rightly rendered, and the World would be glad of an Amendment in that Particular; but God forbid, at the same Time, the Bible should be dealt with as we deal by other Books of Antiquity, either in Verse or Prose! How many Translations have been given us of *Homer*, and all how different, tho’ by Men of a

* *Vide Ciceronius, p. 97.*

thorough Knowledge in the Original, all but *Pope*? In Prose, how many of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes* in all modern Tongues, where every Translator has followed his own Genius, and some have made an Original instead of a Copy? Nor is the Thing of much Moment where Amusement and Improvement of Taste are the principal Objects in our View. But, *when the glad Tidings of the Gospel* are to be read in our Ears, when the History of our Redemption is to be related in a known Tongue, how ought it to be done? in plain Words, or rhetorical Flourishes? in such as convey Ideas in Terms most generally understood by the Learned as well Unlearned, or in Phrases suited to the Refinements of Taste in Literature, and such as may adorn the Subject with all the Grandeur our Language can afford? The Subject surely wants no Adorning, and every Effort to dress it richly will make it look poor, and disguise, instead of ornamenting, its Beauty.

As for ranging the sacred Books in more exact Order *, it may, or may not, be done, without any ill Consequence, save one, (*viz.*) that, if foreign Churches do not range as ours shall, it will serve only to puzzle the Ignorant, and give unnecessary Trouble to the Learned. The Bulk of Christians have nothing

to do with Chronology and Connexions, and Scholars will not want the Assistance of this learned Club, since *Prideaux* has done it to their Hand.

But to judge of their Intention by their next Proposal, by the Pains they take to recommend it, and the obviously false Arguments they use to persuade and prepare its Reception; we must form Conclusions to the great Disadvantage of the Knowledge, Ingenuity, and Candour, they every-where profess. They own it may appear uncommon *, if not unwarrantable, (but *that*, they apprehend, only to People of no Consideration) to reduce the historical Books into one compact Narrative, as all useful History ought to be, and is no more unwarrantable, they say, than in *Stephens* and *Gastrel*, to reduce Scripture Doctrines and Scripture Precepts into one View.

Was ever such Imposition and Sophistry offered to the Common-Sense of Mankind? Is there no Difference between curtailing the Word of God, and collecting Doctrines from it into one View, for the Benefit of the Unlearned? They absolutely forget themselves, and fancy they are talking in their secret Committee, to discover so soon their main Design is unpolitic. — They say indeed, they only propose it, intirely sub-

* P. 16.

mit it, &c. But the long previous Note clears up their Meaning, and fixes their Intentions. Let a Society be set on Foot, (meaning by due Authority) let Men of all Denominations be invited, and generously received, the Execution will not be long behind. It is supposed, not; and I think the ten Years they want to complete it in, is too large an Allowance, and shews a Diffidence in them of their own Abilities. Ten Days will do the Business, after the Preliminaries of the Congress shall be settled, and the Bible be converted into as compact a Manual as their Hearts could wish, and the Apparatus, like a chymical Extract, appear in little with all the Virtues of the original Simples, however various before the Process.

Indeed, Gentlemen, tho' you are pleased to conceive a favourable Opinion of the good Sense of the Publick, as you say *, yet some Individuals suspect you only compliment them with fair Words, as Haberdashers do their Customers, on their Skill in small Wares, when they want to put them off at an exorbitant Value.

I have examined your Stock no farther as yet; but, if the Goods don't mend on Hand, as you shew them, I shall go to another Shop. But, before I take my Leave, (if I must go) I own my Agreement with you in Judg-

* P. 23.

ment, that it is very possible your intended System may do as great Honour to your Country, as the *Universal History* has done, which at this Day has more Esteem among the Editors and Compilers, than the uncourteous Readers. I won't pretend to say, tho' there is Reason to believe, that the same Hands are concerned here, which so ill collected, and so unpleasingly related, the History both of ancient and modern Times, if I may form a Judgment from those who are no Way concerned in the Sale. But for your Queries in the next Chapter: "May not the Length of our publick Service be reasonably contracted? Yes. Will it not on many Accounts be expedient?" * No. Not on many Accounts; for, of all the Reasons you have offered, there is but one of any Weight; the Difficulty and Hardship that sometimes lies on infirm Ministers, by occasional Services, and that too the Ordinary may mend at Pleasure. The Indevotion it occasions will not be mended by Contractions, and devout People are far from thinking it too long, especially among nine Parts in ten of most Congregations, who are well known to express great Resentment, if the Curate, by Design or Accident, omits a single Collect.

* P. 24.

I pass by their Manifesto, "*We shall not concern ourselves, &c.*" * only remarking by the Way, that they have concerned themselves too much about a Matter, which does not give Offence to one Christian in a thousand, and shew too much Favour to the Argument founded on the Repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and urged by Dissenters against our Liturgy. Our Saviour prayed three Times in the same Words, at the same Time, and let that be an Answer to them, and Warrant for our Practice.

I agree with the occasional Dissertation in the 3d Chapter, and have no Objection to their Proposals, if our Superiors think fit. But, if they do not, there's no great Hardship if the Rubricks stand as they are.

They propose †, as many of our Services and Collects, as shall be thought necessary, should be melted into one continued Prayer, and, as they phrase it, let that suffice once for all. It were more edifying and beautiful, they think, tho' it may appear a novel and unprecedented Query. It is neither novel nor unprecedented, having been modestly offered by Doctor Calamy, at the Hampton-Court Conference, with this only Difference, that he insisted one of his own composing should be substituted in Room of the Liturgy, which, it seems, was not com-

* P. 29.

† P. 61.

plied with, tho' he was an ingenious Man, and mainly gifted. But, as to the Beauty and Edification arising from such a Change, most People * are of a different Opinion from these Gentlemen, and think it would spoil the Beauty of the Service, and weaken the Attention of the Congregation. All their Queries and Observations on Psalms, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, need little Animadversion, and but this Answer, *when our Governors please.*

In their 6th Chapter, they handle with great Caution the *Athanasian Creed*, of which so much has been said by very ingenious Men, that, unless they had said something new on the Subject, it had been better let alone. Their Proposal for not using it, though it should be retained in the Book, is sufficiently answered already by a Practice lately introduced, of such as do not like it sitting down during the Reading, which sufficiently signifies their Non-assenting, and, in this Respect, is better than leaving it out of the Service, (*viz.*) that many sensible Men do sincerely believe it, and never miss an Opportunity of attending Church the Days it is read, tho' they may be less careful of attending at other Times, occasioned by the necessary Avocations of their Profession, which is the Case of a very eminent Phy-

* See Wheatly, Comber, &c.

fician in a very populous Town in *England*, and many others.

It is certain, this Creed (if we may trust the Authority of very learned Men) was a strong Barrier in the Primitive Church, against the Torrent of Heresies that were daily breaking in, and was not only designed as a Test of Men's Faith, at the Time it was made, but as an Antidote to the growing Generation, who might otherwise be poisoned in their Principles by innovating and restless Men; and is supposed to have had such Success, as to have kept off, for many Ages, most destructive Heresies, if not that Deism, which is now so openly avowed. The Connexion perhaps is not easily seen; but many there are who think they perceive the Steps from Arianism to Socinianism, Deism, Atheism; and from thence conclude, that the discharging this Creed would make the Transition easier; and the middle Way, recommended by our Authors, might possibly have the same Effect. Which (to follow their Example in this Particular) is submitted, &c.

I think there is little to be controverted with these Gentlemen more, till we come to their 10th Chapter, relating to Oaths, Articles, Subscriptions, &c. which, in Truth and Fact, it is the sole Object of their Endeavours to remove, and has occasioned these Petitions for needless Reviews in some
Points

Points, and so many unprofitable Alterations, in humble Hopes that, when the Work is once begun about Trifles, it may end in Things of Importance. *Oh! that the Day were come! the happy Event!* No doubt on't. Be so good as have a little Patience, it will not happen this Year of our Lord, or in the Ten you have taken. The State is too wise to be fond of such Experiments, and seems well convinced that its Safety depends on the Safety of the Church as now established; and what Establishment could there be, if no Tests of this Kind were required? Will they do us the Honour to specify in what Part of the Christian World Instances may be found of such a no-Constitution, and yet perfect Harmony maintained? It is a Contradiction in Terms. If by Harmony they mean Agreement, there must be something to agree in; and what can they agree in, where Nobody can know another's Opinion? It may be indeed, as they say, (in awkward Words) a Foundation for preventing Disputes, (*i. e.* a Foundation to prevent Superstructures) by gently removing the Occasions: Gently or ungently, if you remove Things, there can be no Dispute about them. "The present Times require a Set of Articles, better adapted to present Exigencies * , and we always wish they may be drawn up with

* P. 179.

“ a Latitude,” — in order, as comes anon, *to be a solid Foundation for Unity.* Doubtless Unity in Latitude must be a choice Thing, if we knew where to have it, and is to be found no-where but in Company with *Pagan Christianity.*

The very Nonsense these so sensible Men are obliged to speak, should be a certain Proof that their Demands on these Subjects are unreasonable, and their Pretensions ill-founded, without descending to particular Replies; but whoever would see, in short Compass, the Impossibility of any Church subsisting, where Latitude is allowed, may read Bishop *Conybeare's* Sermon on the Subject, and compare it with the *Rational Foundation* of Dr. *Watts.*

These above-mentioned being the principal Subjects of Consideration in this well-weighed Proposal to their highly-honoured Governors in Church and State, I shall beg Leave to make some Observations on their Conduct in the Whole. The Book is plainly calculated *ad Captum Vulgi*, and to fall in with every Discontent of a discontented People. Religion has but little Concern in the Design, and, whatever or whoever might have given it Birth, is now nourished and brought up in the World to serve Purposes of Interest and Policy; to destroy that Union between Church and State, which they find by past Experience will, as long as
it

it continues, be an insuperable Defence to their Purposes. Different Parties may have different Views from the same Expectation, and will take the Lead according to their Zeal, and Superiority of their Numbers; and smaller Parties be content to fill the Cry, tho' they cannot hope to seize first on the Game. The Presbyterians have long taken off the Mask, and become at last, what the Quakers were at first, an Association, rather than a Church. They are a thriving Body, but they are out of Power and lucrative Employments, and must remain so, till such Time as the Test Acts are repealed, that is, till Infatuation seizes the legislative Powers, or till they are content to conform in a Body, instead of doing it singly, which, tho' it may serve tolerably in one Part of his Majesty's Dominions, will not be comprehensive enough for *England*, or consist with the Tempers of the Generality of North *Britons*, who aim at nothing less than the Recovery of their *Sion*.

It is apparent to any observing Reader, who has been conversant with their Writings, that the Style, Form, and general Conduct of this Book, is all their own. That placid Resignation, gentle Insinuation, superlative Respect, pretended at a Time when they are raking together all the Dirt has been laid at the Door of the Church by her false, or weak, though well-meaning Friends;

Friends ; artfully tempering the general Concessions of Men, most professedly averse to them, (on whom they bestow the highest Encomiums) with the strongest Representations made in their Favour by the most eminent among themselves ; all conspire to prove they have the sole or greatest Share in the Management of this subverting Scheme. They only will be the Gainers, when a national established Religion shall be disjoined from the State. Infidelity may triumph in the Success, but will have no Share of the Advantage. The Vanity of the ingenious Sceptic will be too much gratified to have a lasting Pleasure, and I question whether it will be equal to that, arising from a gallant Attack on Religion, when supported by Laws : There is something mean in the first, and generous in the latter, bespeaking a great Mind, taking Laws only from itself, and spurning all Controul. Quakers, Anabaptists, and other Sub-denominations will have a Taste of the same Pleasure, in seeing Tyranny and Hierarchy pulled down, and Persecution cease. But Experience may convince them, that their Joy will be short-lived, and they will feel the Finger of their new Masters heavier than the Loins of those they are now taught to join against, in the Cry of Persecution. Persecution! where, or by whom? There is nothing in these Nations under Persecution, but the Church
and

and State; and it is pleasant to observe from what Quarter the Cry comes, and who they are who have the least or most Reason to complain of ill Treatment, and clamour at their Rulers. Of all of them, the Papist (if any) has the only Shadow of Justice on his Side, when he complains of Persecution. He is not only excluded from a Share in Government and Employments, but denied the Use of Arms, and only connived at in the Exercise of his Religion; in the first Instance, *viz.* of Government and Places, I don't find they pretend any natural Right as free-born Subjects, or complain on that Head; and a Review of their own Behaviour in the Times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of the late King *James*, will very well account, how it is, that the mildest of all Governments characterized in History should be compelled to enact Laws, seeming at first View only becoming the harshest, and which nothing less than Self-preservation, and the necessary Supports of Liberty, could ever have induced the Legislature to think of. It is the Spirit of our Constitution in Government, to make no Distinctions, to lay no Restraints on natural Liberties or natural Rights, till Men, by their Behaviour and avowed Principles, by assuming unnatural Liberty, and pretending to unnatural Rights, make it necessary for the Legislature to lay them under temporary Restraints, which are intended to

continue no longer than the Pretensions that occasioned them subsist, and the Principles are not disclaimed, which they judge to be inconsistent with Government. It is not the *Roman-Catholick* is denied the Use of Arms, or the Invoker of Saints that is limited in the publick Exercise of his Religion; but the Subject of the Pope, and the Nonjuror to a Protestant Government in the first, and the Professor of a Religion in the second, which enjoins the Extirpation of Heresy, and absolves from the Obligations of Nature.

It is not the Dissenter from the established Worship who is excluded from a Share in the Administration of Government, but he who will give no Security that he is a Friend to that Form of Government, judged to be the best, and no Enemy to that Church which is incorporated with it, and which both in Conjunction make our envied Constitution.

If the last complains of Persecution with any Colour of Reason, he must find other Arguments than have yet been produced. That with-holding Places, which every free-born Subject has a Right to, is Persecution, has been their sole Argument for sixty Years; which is saying, in other Words, every one is born to be a Governor, (for all Places, of whatever Nature, imply a Share in Government;) by which Rule, we must all be Governors

vernors without Subjects. It is allowed (to use their own Words) that every Subject has a natural Right to the Benefit of the Laws, but surely not a Right to the Execution of them, which is Government, and, it must be owned, is sometimes attended with Benefit; which Benefit if they desire, (beside the Protection of our Laws, which all the World has a Right to) let them take the Test: If their Conscience forbid, let them live without Places, which is full as consistent with Conscience, as having them.

But to return to our Book, which occasioned this Digression. If there be any who are persuaded there be no other Design in it, that what is professed, and more than one thousand Times repeated, *viz.* the Cause of true Piety, and advancing Religion in the Church of *England*; let them, in the Alterations proposed for the Liturgy, carefully reflect, if there be more than one Thing, *viz.* the *Athanasian Creed*, that conscientiously can be pretended to require either Altering or Expunging. I say, conscientiously; for Expedience is nothing, where Inexpedience is greater.

In the Translation of the Bible, let him point out how many Passages are wrong translated, and say, if he can find one, where any moral or evangelical Virtue is obscured or mistated by it, or where any sincere Christian can possibly be misled.

And if, upon such Inquiry, he shall be convinced that there is any Thing of so great Moment in the wrong Translation of our Bible, as to render a new Translation absolutely necessary for the right Information of sincere Christians; that the misplacing the historical Books is of ill Consequence to the Unlearned, (for to the Learned it can be none;) that a Liberty given to abridge them, and to paraphrase the rest of the Bible, will leave no Room for one Man to change its Meaning, or another to mistake it; that the Book of Common-Prayer, in its present Form, lays Snares for Men's Consciences, and is contrary to the Word of God; then let him join Heart and Hand with these wise, learned, and elegant Reformers.

If, on the contrary, he shall be persuaded, that the few Errors which are to be found in our Translation of the Bible, fewer than in any other, can no Way pervert the Faith or Morals of the plainest Christian; that dealing with it as we do with other Books of Antiquity, would, in Effect, be reducing it to a Standard with those other Books, and Paraphrasing leave Liberty to explain and mould it to Men's Wishes and Designs; that there is nothing burthensome to Conscience in the Liturgy, and not many Inconveniencies; then let him be well assured there is a dangerous Design, and, tho'
not

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not avowed, not difficult to be guessed at ; dangerous to the Church, by opening a Gap for every Species of Infidelity, and for every Schism, to force its Way in ; to the State, when its best Support is gone, from the Republican Principles, which are openly asserted by all Dissenters, and secretly favoured by others ; and to all Orders and Degrees of Men in these too much divided Nations, from a Zeal kindled by the most powerful of all Motives, and blown into a Flame by Pride, Malice, Rage, and Revenge, which are spontaneous in some Men, and will infallibly be sown into the Minds of the best, when a long and necessary Stirring-up of Men's Passions shall prepare the Soil for their Reception.

F I N I S.



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